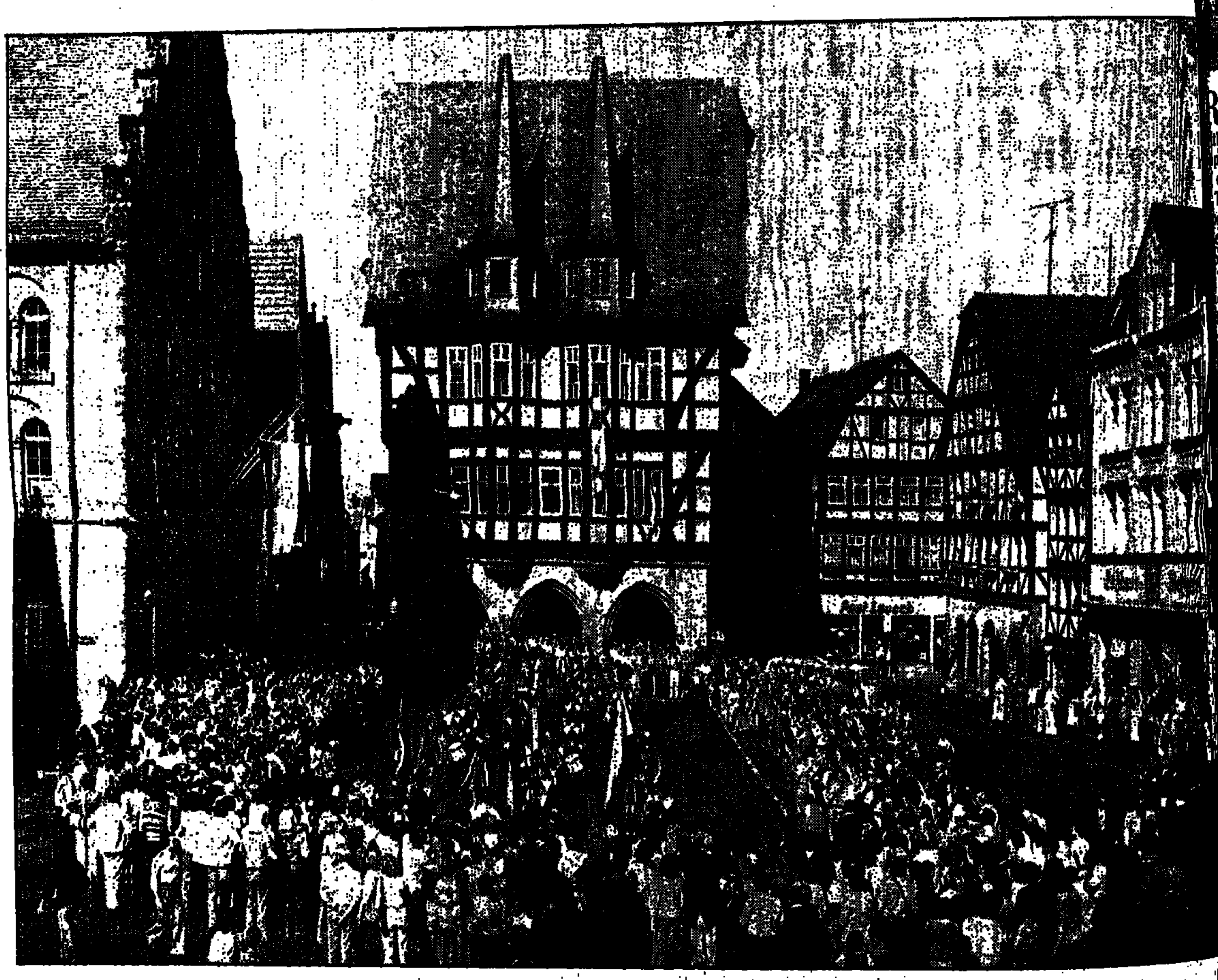
Germany's town hall…

It's true. In Goethe's Frankfurt there is the old Town Hall, dating from the 15th and 16th centuries. But there is also the modern "technical" Town Hall, rather like the Astro-Houston Center in downtown Houston. And there's another in Bonn, resembling a white mountain peak, ultramodern, like Mont Blanc on the Rhine. But the historic old town halls still predominate in Germany. Have you seen the delightful half-timbered building in Alsfeld, dating from 1512? Bernkastel town hall on the Moselle? The Renaissance one in Lindau on Lake Constance? Or perhaps one built in 1484 for the city of Michelstadt in the Odenw… which looks like a Gothic doll's house or a present bought in … oldfashioned toyshop? You… try it sometime for a change… trip to Germany's town halls…





Alsfeld

Frankfurt am Main

The German Tribune

…mburg, 8 March 1981
…entieth Year - No. 979 - By air

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Time for a fresh look at ties with US



Relationships are realigned and weightings rejigged in politics …thout the changes being immediately …parent; one has to have a keen sense … changes in the offing.

Thus many people even at key posi…ns in politics still fail to realise that …ere has been a fundamental change in …nn's position.

They console themselves with the …ought that the weakness of the deut…emark is due to temporary factors … attribute it, as Chancellor Schmidt …d in a recent French newspaper inter…ew, to US interest rates.

The *Financial Times* put it more …untly: "Weak Government, Weak Cur…ncy." This was much nearer the truth.

For some time there has been a rea…*gnment of* relations, a shift in the in…ible coalitions forged among mem…s of all major alliances.

Since the days of Adenauer and de …ulle Franco-German relations have …erged as a special relationship, an axis …round which at times a great deal has …rned, both in Europe and in the world … large.

Others looked on jealously as M. Gis…rd d'Estaing and Herr Schmidt settled …own for their fireside chats and pro…und analyses of world affairs.

Britain in particular looked on Herr …hmidt as the world's leading states…an, at least during the Carter adminis…ration.

For some time there have been in…reasing signs that all is no longer as …armonious as it once was in ties be…een the two leaders.

Closer examination of these occasional comments and pointers, which are gradually starting to take root in political commentaries, reveals that relations with the United States are the parting of the ways.

This comes as an initial surprise, particularly as one learns that the French are gradually coming to feel uneasy about Herr Schmidt's strongly critical attitude towards the Americans.

The French are discreetly but now visibly moving back towards the United States, as the visit to the USA by Foreign Minister Jean François-Poncet ought clearly to indicate.

In the course of Herr Schmidt's last consultations with M. Giscard d'Estaing it was learnt that the French had toned down critical comments levelled at the Americans and still not been altogether happy with the result.

Paris scents a change in atmosphere in the Western alliance. M. Giscard d'Estaing was much more careful than Herr Schmidt even in his dealings with Mr Carter.

He is evidently keen to come to terms with President Reagan and upset by the Bonn Chancellor's attack on the US President in a French newspaper.

There are two reasons, the first being that Bonn, France's neighbour to the east, looks like growing weaker and going out on a limb from the United States (or vice-versa).

That would put paid to the safe bulwark behind which France has been able to engage in world affairs since the days of General de Gaulle.

In future crises close ties with the United States alone will count, as the French are well aware. In the heavyweight arena one European axis or another will no longer count.

The French have a very clear picture of renewed US determination under President Reagan, the determination not to allow unbridled Soviet expansion and armament. This is a point Mr Brezhnev too may already have taken.

Not even Nato can remain what it was. The report on the North Atlantic pact by the four leading Western foreign policy research institutes pinpoints the change.

It refers to a leading group of five Western countries, the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Japan.

It also talks in terms of responsibilities and terms of reference extending beyond the previous boundaries of Nato influence to the Persian Gulf, the Far East and Africa, say.

Britain and France have long since taken the consequences and ranged military units alongside the Americans in the Persian Gulf theatre — not just symbolic contingents either.

Germany will have additional duties in Europe to perform, especially if the Americans withdraw US units in Germany for service elsewhere.

Let no-one doubt the determination of President Reagan to boost America's standing in the world. It is endorsed by

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Stability in Central America

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) conferred in Bonn with Bernd Niehaus (right), his Costa Rican counterpart. They reviewed developments in Central America in general, especially El Salvador. See page 2. (Photo: dpa)

Bonn says no to missile moratorium

Bonn rejected the Soviet proposal for a moratorium on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, government spokesman Kurt Becker said after the 25 February Cabinet meeting. It did so on account of the current imbalance in Moscow's favour but felt that a ban on manufacture and stationing in the Soviet Union would be useful in future talks.

Bonn has been quick to respond to Mr Brezhnev's proposal for a missile moratorium in Europe, which is just as it should be.

The subject is so complex and important that only a clear and well-founded viewpoint can counteract mystification and emotion-laden short circuits.

There can be no doubt that the Soviet leader is well aware of the propaganda value of his moratorium bid, especially as it holds forth the prospect of a solution to the alarming situation that has arisen in Central Europe in the wake of nuclear arms proliferation.

This arsenal of destruction has resulted in the superpowers treading most warily on German soil; it is not the cause of political tension in Europe but the result of it.

Thus, logically, any attempt to scale it down must be launched initially in the political sphere. In this sector Mr Brezhnev's offer to extend CSCE confidence-building measures to the entire European territory of the Soviet Union sounds promising.

It remains, of course, to be seen what the Soviet leader meant when he referred to a corresponding extension of the Western zone to which confidende-building measures were to apply.

It is also interesting to note how quick Soviet foreign affairs spokesman Leonid Samyatin was to react to West German criticism of the moratorium, which has increasingly emerged as the cornerstone of specific Soviet disarmament proposals.

He denied that the military balance had been upset by the brisk pace of installation of modern SS-20 missiles aimed at targets in Western Europe.

The known figures reiterated by the Bonn government and not yet disputed by the Soviet Union tell another tale.

Mr Brezhnev's proposal to freeze at their present level medium-range missiles based by both sides in Europe would merely perpetuate Soviet superiority without gaining the slightest concession in return.

The Soviet leader has thus not even gone as far as his autumn 1979 offer to thin out SS-20 missiles based in the western part of the Soviet Union.

Mr Brezhnev evidently sets great store by the differences of opinion among European Nato countries on where the appropriate US counter-weapons are to be stationed.

But since these weapons would for the first time be able to hit Soviet targets from bases in Europe, Moscow's readiness to discuss matters is unlikely to have begun and ended with Mr Brezhnev's moratorium proposal.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 26 February 1981)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Bonn backs peace in El Salvador

Visits to Bonn by US envoy Lawrence S. Eagleburger and Costa Rican Foreign Minister Bernd Niehaus Quesada were not without effect.

Bonn is cautiously revising policy towards Central America and has resolved to try and bring together democratic forces in El Salvador.

Its aim is thereby to contribute towards stabilising the political situation in the strife-torn country, and there can be no mistaking the shift in policy.

Previously democrats who collaborated with the junta, such as Christian Democrat President Duarte, were viewed as beyond the pale.

Christian Democrats and Socialists who had thrown in their lot with the Communists were regarded as liberators deserving of our sympathy.

An overview was rendered more difficult by violence at both ends of the political spectrum that the government had failed to get under control.

The United States, on the other hand, takes an entirely different view of events on its own back door, as it were. It feels the flames are being fanned by the Communists, especially the Eastern European countries and Cuba, and could threaten US security.

That is why President Reagan is trying to forestall a situation in which he might have to intervene militarily in the US national interest.

Were he to do so, the Soviet Union would be sure to level at America the charges the West has levelled at Russia in connection with Afghanistan.

The American theory that external influences which have nothing to do with domestic strivings for freedom are at work in El Salvador has been borne out by events.

The rebels' offensive proved a failure because it lacked the support of the general public.

On 25 February the Bonn Cabinet voiced understanding of US alarm about the bid by Communist countries to gain influence in El Salvador.

In talks with his Costa Rican counterpart Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher went even further.

"The two Ministers agreed in their condemnation of efforts by Communist countries to extend their influence to Central America by other than peaceful means," the communiqué said.

So US documentary evidence of Communist arms deliveries evidently had its effect, being taken seriously in Bonn just as it has been in London and Paris.

This will mean a rethink by the Social Democrats, who initially, via the Socialist International, sided entirely with democratic forces who have made common cause with the rebels and against the junta and the Christian Democrats who support it.

It is much to CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler's credit that he was able to convince SPD vice-chairman Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski of the need to put paid to party-political wrangling over El Salvador.

Political parties in Germany, he argued, must join forces to help Salvadorean democrats, rent by dissension as they are, to get together round the conference table.

President Duarte has made a peace offer but Social Democrat Guillermo Ungo, backed by the Socialist International, still insists that the President must first break with the junta.

Government and Opposition in Bonn are suddenly agreed on the approach to adopt, even to the point of advocating continued development aid to enable social reforms in El Salvador, especially the land reform launched by the junta, to be continued.

Bonn will no doubt now try to make aid dependent on an understanding being reached between democrats in El Salvador.

It certainly feels duty bound as an ally of the United States to contribute towards stabilising conditions in the Central American republic, thereby helping to contain Communist influence in America's back yard.

Peter Hopen

(Nordwest Zeitung, 26 February 1981)

Warsaw in Bonn

Polish Deputy Premier Kisiel visited Bonn at the end of February on a tough mission. The West is sympathetic towards efforts by Solidarity, the Polish trades union, to gain greater democratic freedom for Polish workers but it is also worried lest the mark is overstepped.

Were the country's hard-pressed economy to be forced to the wall, Western aid could help to ease the situation. Yet hardly a day passes without the Kremlin or one of its henchmen accusing the West of intervention in Poland.

So Mr Kisiel had to tread warily in Bonn to avoid upsetting either one side or the other.

Bonn welcomed first-hand information from Warsaw. Poland, once a major partner in detente, is currently not in a position to perform this role on account of domestic difficulties.

The Polish Deputy Premier was able to explain to the Bonn government the policies backed by the powers that be in Warsaw as a means of restoring the economy to an even keel.

Western readiness to agree to a moratorium on debt repayments by the crisis-torn country will play a key role in any such plans.

Poland is estimated to be $52bn in debt to the West, and debt servicing alone is expected to cost about $10bn this year.

It was doubtless no coincidence that Mr Kisiel's visit to Bonn coincided with a gathering in Paris of Poland's main Western creditors.

They met to discuss the moratorium and possibilities of fresh financial assistance. This was one occasion when the Soviet Union would have done well to set aside allegations of intervention.

Siegfried Michel

(Bremer Nachrichten, 25 February 1981)

Ties with US

Continued from page 1

an overwhelming majority of the US public.

At the same time there are increasing indications that America might no longer regard Europe as its first priority if the response were not to be satisfactory.

This may well have been the reason why both Britain and France, in the persons of Mrs Thatcher and M. François-Poncet, have hastened to pay their respects to the new US President.

What is more, London and Paris have not only been quick to pay Washington the customary courtesy call; they have also made a point of demonstrating a degree of agreement with the policies of the new administration that goes far beyond the exigencies of either courtesy or routine.

Hans-Joachim Nimtz

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 28 February 1981)

Democracy in Spain

Democracy underwent a baptis[illegible] fire, and Western Europe breathe[illegible] sigh of relief, when Spain emerged [illegible] scathed from a coup bid in the Spa[illegible] parliament building led by a Gu[illegible] Civil colonel.

Spain, a would-be member of [illegible] Nato and the European Communit[illegible] retained its reputation as an este[illegible] member of the free family of nation[illegible]

King Juan Carlos played a partic[illegible] important part in the suppression o[illegible] attack on democracy in Spain.

His spirited intervention, clear [illegible] demnation of the coup [illegible] uncompromising commitment to [illegible] Spanish constitution will have di[illegible] raged a number of officers from ma[illegible] common cause with the attempted [illegible] litary take-over.

This not only proves that the K[illegible] who was educated by Franco, is a c[illegible] vinced democrat and advocate of pa[illegible] mentary government.

It also shows that since Franco's d[illegible] in 1975 democratic awareness and [illegible] departure from reactionary and fa[illegible] myths have clearly gained the up[illegible] hand in Spain.

The coup that failed is nonethele[illegible] warning to party politics. The offi[illegible] associated with it referred to a powe[illegible] cuum in Madrid which they sought [illegible] eliminate.

Essential though parliamentary de[illegible] may be, the leaders of Spanish pol[illegible] parties and Spanish MPs must al[illegible] remember the responsibility they be[illegible] the entire people for democracy in t[illegible] country.

Then Spain can be assured of con[illegible] nuing to progress in the direction joi[illegible] embarked on by King Juan Carlos an[illegible] overwhelming majority of his fe[illegible] countrymen in 1975.

Dietrich [illegible]

(Bremer Nachrichten, 25 February [illegible])

Bonn and Tokyo have so much in common

Günter Diehl, Bonn's ambassador in Tokyo since 1977, is leaving Japan to retire from the foreign service. His predecessor Wilhelm Grewe likewise retired from his Tokyo posting.

It is unlikely to be the final posting for Herr Diehl's successor, Klaus Blech, a Bonn Foreign Office official to whose apointment the Japanese government has already consented.

Dr Blech was a political officer at the Tokyo embassy 10 years ago, but in Bonn he has risen to head of the political department at the Foreign Office.

He was responsible for nearly all aspects of foreign affairs save relations with the Third World. His job was the most important post below the rank of state secretary.

His appointment as ambassador to Tokyo must thus be viewed as a reassessment of relations with Japan resulting from a change that has been under way for a number of years.

Ties between the two countries have developed from a basically unproblematic longstanding friendship to a partnership that has assumed political importance and in which friction can readily occur.

The political aspect of post-war ties first came to the fore in the agreement between Japan and the EEC countries on sanctions against Iran.

On that occasion Bonn and Tokyo were in step with other members of the European Common Market. On another, the Moscow Olympic boycott in protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Bonn was the only EEC country to undertake political moves in concert with Japan.

It was no coincidence. In Western Europe only Germany is as dependent on US security guarantees as Japan is on US military backing in the Far East.

A similar congruence of interests could well occur in economic ties between the EEC and Japan. Here too the interests of Bonn and Tokyo are often closer than those of Germany and other EEC countries.

Germany is certainly dependent to a high degree on exports, which would make it a natural ally of Japan's if the EEC were to continue responding to the Japanese export offensive with administrative means, in other words protectionist measures.

Bonn will have to decide as a matter of economic policy whether it is going to follow in the footsteps of other EEC countries and help to dig its own grave as an internationally competitive exporter.

The alternative is to join forces with Japan in a bid to combat a trend [illegible] dangerous for them both.

Close political coordination betw[illegible] Bonn and Tokyo would also seem a[illegible] able on other issues that superficia[illegible] appear to be trade ties but in fact [illegible] quire political decisions.

How are they to respond to Chi[illegible] cancellation of substantial indus[illegible] orders? How are they to approach [illegible] natural gas deal between Western [illegible] rope and the Soviet Union?

The gas deal, in which Japan is p[illegible] inently involved, is viewed with s[illegible] cion by the United States. So it is [illegible] exaggeration to say that Bonn's am[illegible] sador in Tokyo has a political job to [illegible]

Gebhard Hielsch[illegible]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 February [illegible])

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■ DEFENCE

Nato military pundits meet in Munich



Once a year during the Fasching, or carnival season, there are two days of serious debate at the Bayerischer Hof hotel in Munich.

This is the venue of an annual gathering of strategy experts from Nato countries, the International Military Affairs Congress.

Defence pundits, ranging from parliamentarians and publicists to brasshats and Ministry officials, seldom feel in the mood for celebration.

There was certainly no such levity at this year's conference, billed as the first exchange of views with representatives of the Reagan administration.

The atmosphere was that of a gentlemen's club, although the conviviality was upset a little by the glare of TV spotlights.

What is said is not couched in diplomatic language, and this enables speakers to say much they might otherwise be tempted to keep to themselves.

At this year's gathering, the 18th and no exception to the rule, there was no shortage of disputes and accusations among friends and allies.

On the Saturday 140 delegates from [illegible] *Nato countries* first had to get into the swing, especially the Americans, many of whom where there for the first time on behalf of the Reagan administration.

By Sunday everyone would have agreed with Werner Kaltefleiter, the Kiel University political scientist, who said laconically: "It strikes me that the lines of conflict have seldom been so clearly apparent."

Initially the official representatives, Bonn Defence Minister Hans Apel and US Defence Under-Secretary Frank Carlucci, did their best to to paper over differences of opinion with gestures of courtesy.

Herr Apel sought to meet the Americans half-way by cautiously talking, in philosophical terms, of world peace growing increasingly indivisible.

This was meant as a concession to the worldwide fears of the US administration and to cast in a different light the comment by Foreign Minister Genscher last year that Europe as an island of detente must be defended tooth and nail.

Frank Carlucci promised more courtesy in US dealings with its allies: "All too often we have merely talked about consultations in the past and then gone it alone. "Often enough we may have reached calculability yet confronted our allies year by year, or so it seemed, with changed priorities and programmes.

"The new administration is aware of the risk this represents. We are determined to eliminate it."

He continued on a slightly more [illegible] note, saying: "We have finally passed the point at which, numbed by Viet Nam, we were prevented from defending Western interest worldwide."

This note of determination was greeted with applause that resounded throughout the hall. It was as though the conference wanted to boost its courage in view of the many differences of opinion between America and Europe.

But differences there were, and they grew steadily more apparent in the course of 15 hours of talks.

1. *Defence spending:* What is a fair European share of defence expenditure? Is it to remain the three per cent in real terms that all have pledged but so far only the United States has practised?

"The pressing need for reinforcement of conventional forces in Europe calls for substantial additional funds rather than disputes over percentage points," said Under-Secretary Carlucci.

Did this mean President Reagan might be prepared to discuss matters? Non entirely. "We still rate the three-per-cent guideline a meaningful starting point."

Senator William Cohen sounded a warning note, adding that: "Our allies would be making a grave mistake if they were to believe we are going to drop the three-per-cent commitment.

"Our people are not going to accept greater defence spending as long as Europe hides behind a Maginot Line."

Hans Apel had to beat a tactical retreat. All he could do was refer to impressive past performances by the Germans: DM55bn in new weapons systems over the past decade and six per cent more defence spending last year.

But he was bound to add that: "Consolidation of the budget is urgently needed, so defence spending cannot be stepped up disproportionately."

What he left unsaid was subsequently said by CDU Shadow Defence Minister Manfred Wörner: "In GNP terms Germany's defence spending will be lower this year than ever before. The increase comes to far less than three per cent, amounting to a nominal 1.7 per cent.

"What is more, there will have to be swingeing cuts in other sectors if the Tornado jet is to be financed."

Next year the Bonn defence budget will be down slightly in real terms, for the first time ever.

Bonn defence spending down in real terms next year

Little was gained by the covering fire given Bonn by Alan Clark, a British MP: "I should like to disagree with Mr Carlucci. Strengthening our armed forces on the Central European front may well be desirable but it is by no means necessary. Existing forces are adequate."

How did he know? He didn't say. It was a scurrilous aside and did not even merit a reply.

2. *Arms control and modernisation:* Initial harmony likewise prevailed on this issue, described by Herr Wörner as the crux of the alliance.

But it disintegrated steadily as speakers shifted from evaluating the problem to suggesting means of solving it. In the fourth sentence of his speech Herr Apel warned of the systematic and swift installation of SS-20 misiles aimed at Europe.

Last year alone they had been increased in number from about 100 to more than 150 systems. But what was to be done? He said: "In the framework of detente, arms control retains outstanding importance."

The objective of striking a military balance was not to be achieved by an arms build-up but by mutual balanced force limitation and, wherever possible, reductions in military potential.



Nato Secretary-General Joseph Luns, Wehrkunde editor Ewald Heinrich von Kleist, Bonn Defence Minister Hans Apel and Senator John G. Tower, chairman of the Senate defence committee, are seen from the left at the Munich conference (Photo: dpa)

Having said these warning words he took cover while Senator Cohen returned fire. "There is no balance of power in Europe today," the Senator said. So what point was there in disarmament?

Helmut Sonnenfeldt, formerly No. 2 at the State Department in Dr Kissinger's days, shares the distinction of having invented detente and arms control.

"We cannot regain at the conference table what we have already lost in the battle theatre," he said.

"The December 1979 Brussels arms modernisation decision was in any case no more than a minimum and long-delayed response to a problem created by the Soviet Union with its determined arms control once and for all."

Britain's Defence Under-Secretary Sir Arthur Hockaday, while strongly advising against over-response, called for action on arms modernisation. "We must go ahead with it and not allow ourselves to be distracted by apparent arguments," he said.

But how? Opposition Christian Democrats took the opportunity of lamenting the intellectual decline of Germany under Social Democratic rule in Bonn.

"The advocates of arms modernisation are in a difficult psychological position," siad the CDU's Werner Marx, chairman of the Bundestag defence committee.

They lacked the intellectual preparedness and the courage that were needed to make the installation of new medium-range systems in Germany meaningful.

Horst Ehmke, deputy leader of the Social Democratic parliamentary party, even agreed with Opposition MPs on this point, which was surely more than can have been to their liking.

"I take a much more serious view than the Opposition of the resistance to armament and arms modernisation that has arisen," he said.

"In the 50s there were merely protests against tactical nuclear weapons, in the 70s against nuclear power. In the 80s we are encountering both; the resistance is not only stronger than the student movement of the late 60s but also more difficult to handle because it is more unpolitical."

Herr Ehmke reckoned: "We have long grown incapable of selling defence." Rolf Pauls, a former ambassador to Israel, the United States, China and Nato, agreed. "We are in the middle of a religious war," he said, "and we have yet to reach the nadir of the debate."

3. *Boundaries of the alliance:* Horst Ehmke felt consoled by the thought that all were agreed the idea of a geographical expansion of Nato's area of reference was now over and done with.

Senator Dan Quayle did not entirely agreed. "We may not favour a formal expansion but would like to see cooperative adjustement in hot spots outside Europe."

He added that: "We are not going to be satisfied with hollow appeals to so-called division of labour. We Yanks have shed an awful lot of blood for you."

Senator John Glenn, America's first astronaut, said: "The alliance can no longer be limited solely to the Nato sector; the threat has long extended beyond the Nato framework."

4. *The future of detente:* The irksome dispute over the right attitude to adopt towards Moscow, brought to a head by the invasion of Afghanistan, continued to simmer in Munich.

As the conference began Defence Minister Apel laid down two categorical requirements that could hardly be in keeping with current US thinking.

First, he said, stability must be maintained by continuing with cooperation. Second, the quest for fresh fields of cooperation in and beyond Europe must be maintained.

"We must not allow the Soviet Union the slightest opportunity of escaping from the dialogue process," he continued, concluding with a word of advice to the United States: "There is, in Europe, a latent dislike of both superpowers motivated by the idea of Europe for the Europeans."

Not, he hastened to add, that this sentiment was shared by the powers that be. They had long since overcome any such ideas.

US delegates were not to be taken out of their stride. Senator Glenn of Ohio, an influential Republican, listed the Soviet offences from Angola to Afghanistan and concluded that taken together they amounted to a new colonialism on the part of the Kremlin.

Frank Carlucci told his European audience that: "We want to be able to say back home that a new awareness has arisen in the alliance, a new consensus giving peak priority to the defence of

Continued on page 5

■ DEUTSCHLANDPOLITIK

US historian reviews German options as post-war world system is superseded

For no immediate reason the German Question has returned to the fore, reactivated in part, each in his own way, by Günter Gaus, formerly Bonn's man in East Berlin, and Erich Honecker, the East German leader.

There have also been latent neutralist trends on the left-wing fringe of the West German political spectrum.

So the latest book by US historian David P. Calleo, published by Keil Verlag of Bonn as *Legende und Wirklichkeit der deutschen Gefahr*, could hardly seem to have come at a more appropriate moment.

With the nonchalance of which only someone who is not personally affected by the state of affairs he outlines is capable Calleo, a 47-year-old expert on European affairs, tries to reinterpret Germany's role in world affairs from Bismarck to the present.

It is a bid to help the Germans to overcome their lack of historical awareness where they themselves are concerned, and Calleo's view of continuity as a problem in German history is indeed interesting.

But in the present circumstances his view of the role Germany will have to play in a disintegrating world order is even more worthy of note.

He works on the assumption that many signs indicate an impending disintegration of the American post-war international system. Clashes and sober realisation are on the increase in ties between America and Europe.

This alienation is at times manifested in diplomatic clashes, he says, but is rooted in "domestic changes closely associated with Europe's economic dissatisfaction."

He sees an increasing danger of more extremist governments coming to power in Europe unless economic growth and job security are somehow maintained and ensured.

The permanent monetary imbalance is rated largely to blame for Western governments proving increasingly incapable of shaping their national economic surroundings. The deutschemark and the yen are the chief victims of US exchange-rate policies.

Should the trend continue, nationalist centrifugal forces must increasingly come to jeopardise the US post-war set-up, both in the world at large and in its transatlantic nucleus.

What consequences must be taken by Bonn as Washington's main ally and, arguably, as the main beneficiary of this post-war system?

"The Germans," Calleo says in connection with the steady increase in friction between Germany and America during the 70s, "have not forgotten their deep vulnerability.

"And despite a very long period of post-war prosperity they are still afraid of forfeiting this prosperity.

"A long period of economic stagnation in an international economic and political set-up that was in the progress of disintegration would leave them laid bare to a dangerous degree."

The Germans having grown insecure, they must naturally and automatically worry about their future. The choice would be between a number of options, first and foremost the European option.

A united Europe, once it had expanded to the south, could well prove a viable substitute for the post-war transatlantic system. But could a confederate Europe withstand the twofold burden?

It must first weather the transition to more nationalist governments, possibly based on different ideologies. Then it must surmount alienation from the United States.

Given the differences that persist within Europe, differing interests, differing levels of development and the complications they entail, it would be difficult to keep Europe together in truly trying times.

"In such circumstances Europe might only be kept together if one power were in a position to take over the lead."

Calleo goes on to ask: "Could the Federal Republic be obliged to bid for active hegemony within the European Community as a means of maintaining its continental option? "

This is a somewhat uncertain prospect. Bonn's ability to enforce its will on Europe is, Calleo says, strictly limited. "The Federal Republic has the largest population, the most powerful economy and the most trade.

"But France and even Britain are not much smaller, and both hold diplomatic and military trumps the Germans were denied. German willingness to pay the price of leadership also seems strictly limited."

Besides, Bonn must invariably be dependent on close cooperation with Paris.

"But in the event of a serious clash with the United States not even the two leading European countries together would necessarily be in a position to have their own joint way.

"At all events French and German interests do not appear to be characterised by growing unanimity."

The crucial question remained how anti-American France, Britain or the smaller European countries would turn out to be if Bonn were to succumb to the temptation to strive for hegemony in Europe.

"If Germany is unable to take the lead in Europe," Calleo says, going on to the second, national option, "it must inevitably be tempted to play a national rather than a European game.

"The Federal Republic has achieved considerable export success in Eastern Europe and the Third World with an industry geared to exporting capital goods.

"By diversifying in this direction Germany could see a solution by which it might hope to maintain its prosperity in relative independence of a shaken European or Atlantic system."

But he is far from convinced this would be the case, The financial power of Germany's trading partners limits its foreign trade. Besides, Germany is too large to become a second Switzerland or a second Sweden.

One is bound to add that in view of its geographical location in the heart of Europe and at the hub of clashing interests Germany is in no position even to make the attempt.

This leaves only the old dream of partnership with Russia. But Calleo rates the military and political risks of any such relationship disproportionately high.

He sees the danger of left-wing governments in which the Communists hold a significant stake coming to power in France and Italy and maybe ... and Portugal too.

"The United States would feel ... ingly alienated and withdraw. ... influence would increase. West Ger... would stand increasingly isolated"

In such circumstances there wo... an ever greater risk of both the Fe... Republic and the rest of Western Eu... rope being Finlandised.

This prospect is, he feels, by ... means alarming for Germans of an ... venturous frame of mind. They ... Finlandisation, or adjustment to ... supremacy and possibly adherence ... Soviet economic system, as "the ... opportunity of reunification and ... gence."

Calleo does not view this option ... realistic prospect. It is most ... whether a Western Europe homoge... on socialist terms could in any way ... Russia's hegemony.

Yet even without the United St... Europe would still be too strong t... easily absorbed by the Soviet sp... Moscow would also find it hard t... obliging to a reunified Germany.

Conflict, Calleo hints rather than ... would be a foregone conclusion. ... Honecker's optimistic expectations ... Germany reunited and socialist c... well prove premature.

"To summarise, it may be said t... West Germany has no clear altern... even if growing tension makes main... ing the post-war status quo seem inc... singly difficult.

"Each option, be it Atlantic, Europ... or nationalist, would be saddled ... heavy burdens. In short, the futu... most uncertain and the next 30 years ... unlikely to be as peaceful as the last ...

Sooner or later the Germans will ... says, have to take their destiny int... their own hands.

"In the past they were not un... successful in coping with such c... lenges, but maybe this time the ... pects will be more favourable."

Herbert Le...

(General-Anzeiger, 19 February ...)

Unnecessary upset over GDR speech

East German leader Erich Honecker's reference to reunification took Bonn politicians unawares and temporarily, so it seemed, left tham at a loss for words.

When they realised that they would have to frame a viewpoint on the subject they showed signs of nervousness and a tendency to over-react.

Yet Herr Honecker's tenet of German unity under the banner of socialism, although it may have come as something of a surprise, need not be considered in any way embarrassing.

Reunification of the two German states would, he told Party officials in Gera, be a different matter altogether if working people in the Federal Republic were to set about socialist transformation of the Federal Republic of Germany. Bonn's official reaction was, initially, to say nothing about socialist reunification and deal merely with Herr Honecker's offer of talks, which was far from being the wrong attitude to take.

But the Berliners, face to face with intra-German reality and extremely sensitive to signals from the GDR, preferred not to let the issue fall by the wayside, especially as it was a suitable topic for the West Berlin election campaign.

They may not have said much either, certainly not a great deal that can have been rated to the point, but they certainly prompted a nationwide debate.

The Christian Democrats, in opposition in Bonn, felt they could capitalise on Herr Honecker's ideas about socialist reunification without too much difficulty. CDU leader Helmut Kohl and his deputy as leader of the CDU/CSU in the Bundestag, Friedrich Zimmermann, promptly decided to raise the issue,

Herr Kohl said he was afraid that the East German leader's statement on German reunification had disproved everyone on the government benches who for a year and a day had been trying to make the idea of national unity vanish from the public consciousness.

Dr Zimmermann even claimed to be alarmed that Herr Honecker had laid claim to the concept of a German nation, albeit a socialist one.

The East German leader, he claimed, intended to generate a power of attraction towards the Federal Republic.

Turns of phrase such as these might convey the impression that something dreadful had happened, that Herr Honecker had, say, suddenly emerged as the custodian of German unity.

Bonn, in contrast, or so one might be excused for assuming, was speechless and unarmed to cope with this drive for national expansion on the part of the intra-German situation.

Thus the point had been reached at which the Bonn government had no choice but to abandon its policy of silence. Minister of State Gunter Hu... ker issued a statement.

As befitted a government spokes... he first denied Opposition allega... and pointed out how wrong ... CDU/CSU was in its assessment of ... intra-German situation.

All political parties represented in ... Bonn Bundestag since 1949 had end... ed the unity of the German nation ... spite the reality, which was that ... German states existed.

It had taken the Social and F... Democratic coalition government ... came to power in 1969 to ensure ... consciousness of national unity was ... fectively reinforced.

East Bloc Socialists invariably add... their remarks to at least two qua... and in this instance Herr Honeck... remarks were intended for consump... not only in the Federal Republic ... also in the GDR.

People in the GDR are evid... more keenly aware of the national ... than their counterparts in the West ... them reunification would mean an ... to a regime they dislike.

This, then, will have been the ... reason why Herr Honecker chose to ... terlink the idea of the German ... with that of Marxist class theory.

But his bid is unlikely to prove ... tive. Germans in the GDR are not ... to welcome the idea; socialist unity ... hardly be to their liking. So what is ... alarming?

Helmut ...

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 20 February ...)

MEDIA

Bomb blasts Radio Free Europe in Munich

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The explosion in the white, two-storeyed building near the English Garden in Munich was not the first spectacular event to draw attention to the existence of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, the two American radio stations.

These two radio stations have been good for headlines, even on the international pages, ever since they were founded.

They have constantly been under fire from East Bloc governments, because RL and RFE have set themselves the task of breaking through the East Bloc news monopoly and opening a window on the world for the people in the Soviet sphere of influence.

As a result, they became "a thorn in the flesh of the state-controlled information system."

The steady stream of protests from the East Bloc is proof of how effective their broadcasts are. One staff member told me: "If we had no effect, they would not always be attacking us."

In 1972, Alexander Solzhenitsyn told a *New York Times* reporter: "Whenever we find out something about this country (the USSR) it is thanks to RL."

There was general agreement among experts who conducted listener success polls in the 70s that there are 22 million regular RL listeners in the Soviet Union and about 30 million RFE listeners in the East Bloc countries.

Later polls indicated a drop in these figures but RL and RFE staff now believe that audience levels equal and even exceed previous figures, despite regular jamming by the Soviet and East Bloc authorities.

The East Bloc protests are not at all limited to biting commentaries in their own publications but were also made official at the Helsinki CSCE conference and the follow-up conferences in Belgrade and Madrid.

Thanks to pressure from Moscow, there are regular difficulties with the accreditation of RL and RFE journalists at the Olympic Games.

The East Bloc had its way for the first time in 1976, when RL and RFE reporters were barred from reporting the Winter Olympics in Innsbruck.

But there have been objections to RL and RFE in the United States itself. In 1973, for example, Senators Mansfield and Fulbright on the Senate Foreign Policy Committee both urged that the stations should be closed, describing them as relics of the Cold War and obstacles to detente.

There was a row two years before that in 1971 when it became known in the USA that both RL and RFE were financed by the CIA.

This led to the setting up of the Washington-based Board for International Broadcasting (BIB), which now controls the two stations. Approval for the board's finances comes from the Senate.

In 1975 it looked as if the protests from Moscow would achieve their end, the closing of the two stations. But the crisis which hit RL and RFE was not the result of a political decision to phase them out but of severe financial cuts.

The two stations, which till then had worked separately, then agreed to pool resources and move into their present headquarters near the English Garden in Munich.

Today they have a joint annual budget of DM170m. The management of both RL and RFE is all-American, but the majority of their 1,400 staff are exiles, among whom there has often been tension and rivalry because of differing political views.

Whereas previously programmes clearly carried the stamp of conservatives, orthodox Christians and strict Russian nationalists, since the 1975 wave of expulsions the majority of staff have tended to be Jewish activists.

In an editorial the *Washington Post* informed its readers that efforts had been made to eliminate radical elements among exiles "who called for revolution and other irresponsible ideas."

The Bonn government, constantly accused of allowing US propaganda stations to operate on its territory, is very reserved about both stations. Their broadcasting licence is reviewed annually.

RFE was founded by the former US Supreme Commander in Germany, General Lucius D. Clay, who on his return to the USA in 1949 founded the Crusade for Freedom Committee, which was joined by diplomats, politicians and businessmen. The first broadcast was on 4 July 1950, to East Europe.

In 1953 Radio Liberty was founded. Today the two stations have 45 shortwave and 1 medium-wave transmitters in West Germany, Portugal, Spain and Taiwan. They broadcast in 21 languages.

One of the main reasons for choosing Munich as headquarters was its closeness to the Iron Curtain. Bavaria was in the American zone of occupation and finally Munich is still considered a magnet for East European exiles.

Despite their militant past, former RFE press boss Ernest Lang admitting that the language was tougher in the first years, the stations have managed to improve their reputation over the years.

They produce not only political but also entertainment, cultural and sports programmes.

The reason for the good reputation the stations enjoy is that they report precisely on developments in the Soviet sphere of influence which the home media would like to keep their citizens in the dark about.

There is nothing conspiratorial about the way the RL and RFE journalists get hold of their information on current events in the Soviet Union and the East Bloc.

Experts regularly study and analyse the 600 to 900 newspapers, magazines and other periodicals, as well as official party documents and reports from Western correspondents.

Another source is direct communication with listeners who take the risk of writing to the stations. And systematic monitoring of East Bloc radio stations has also proved a veritable mine of information.

Christian Schneider

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 February 1981)

(Photo: dpa)

Nato

Continued from page 3

freedom, and that we are confident we can reverse the trend."

In view of such determination faint-hearted Europeans were left with no option but to beat a retreat to irony, as Gerd Schmückle of *Süddeutsche Zeitung* put it. "Sure we're complicated allies," General Schmückle commented, "but where in the world are they going to find better ones?"

Burgomaster Kiesl apologised for his absence from the Rathaus reception given by the city of Munich. Unlike Hans-Jochen Vogel, his SPD predecessor, who always attended, he sent his third deputy mayor, Herr Gittel.

In Munich there are obviously more important issues than the overall balance of power — the carnival season, for instance. Only Franz Josef Strauss would disagree, at times.

Josef Joffe

(Die Zeit, 27 February 1981)

■ EUROPE

Subsidies make a mockery of the Common Market

Only weeks after the new EEC Commission took up ofice, the mood in Brussels is grim again. Even crisis-hardened Eurocrats and diplomats are pessimistic and irritable.

Perhaps the general world malaise plays a part, but home-made EEC problems are certainly the main cause, with the renewed failure of fishery negotiations shaking even the most incorrigible optimists.

The experts had agreed on all the details but agreement foundered on the political inflexibility and obstinacy of the British and the French.

Negotiations on a common fishing policy have been going on for four years and still there is no result. Is it any wonder that the EEC's reputation is at a low ebb?

Yet compared with other problems facing the EEC fisheries policy is a minor matter. The Commission will have to draft proposals for a structural reform of expenditure by summer.

The aim behind this bureaucratic formulation is to cut the cost of the Common Agricultural Policy and use the money saved for other ends.

The Commission was asked to revise the Community's financial structure after the row between Britain and the Nine about net payments to the Community.

EEC Commissioners are already saying this problem is simply insoluble as things stand.

Even without protest demonstrations by farmers, the general opinion in Brussels is that there is no chance of a radical reform being introduced and accepted by all Community members.

Leading civil servants say they would be pleased if they could bring about a trend change and prevent a further increase in costs.

But the agricultural price rise, given the difficult situation farmers face, is now sure to be higher than would have been predicted a few months ago.

Hopes of additional funds becoming available for other purposes can be forgotten, Bonn, Paris and London having made it clear that they will not accept an increase in Community revenue from Value Added Tax.

This automatically raises the question of British contributions. Britain won a cut in contributions, but only until the end of this year. From 1982 it will have to pay more.

The unmistakable writing on the wall has led many to conclude that this will be a major crisis year for the EEC.

If funds from the EEC run out, member-countries, under pressure from their farmers, will subsidise agriculture from their national budgets.

This admittedly already happens, but it is controlled and limited to specified areas although the French are now about to break the rules here.

With Presidential elections coming up, French farmers have been promised a one-billion-franc payout.

Perhaps Bonn and London will be able to stick to Community rules, but countries such as Ireland and crisis-ridden Italy will hardly be able to do so.

It is doubtful whether the EEC could stand such a test, and it will face similar tests in commerce and trade policy too.

The Germans and others favour open-market policies but with the Japanese making ever greater inroads there is increasing resistance to this.

France has to all intents and purposes dropped out of the common trade policy and is applying administrative restrictions to Japanese imports.

Other countries are pursuing similar policies. This cannot go on much longer or the contractually-binding common trade policy will only exist on paper.

And the countries who do not apply restrictive policies, such as West Germany, will have to pay the bill.

There is an increasing trend throughout the Community to keep ailing industries on life-support systems in the shape of subsidies.

The British, Belgian, French and Italian steel industries could not survive without national subsidies.

Everyone knows that there is little point in keeping uncompetitive industries alive at high cost to the taxpayer but many governments find it advisable, against their better judgment and under pressure from trade unions and deteriorating social conditions, to make these subsidies all the same.

So German steel manufacturers will soon also be obliged to demand state subsidies in order to compete.

The widespread feeling in Brussels that nothing can really be done in the economic field is the deeper reason behind the plans for a European Union now being put forward.

The idea put forward by Bonn Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher has since been taken up by other Community politicians, including the new president of the EEC Commission, Gaston Thorn of Luxembourg.

Herr Genscher's proposal is that a framework treaty on European Union should increase Community solidarity and help solve the difficult financial problems the EEC is facing.

But the main emphasis is on more coordination of defence policy and closer cultural cooperation. A shift in emphasis from economics to defence and culture has long been under discussion.

However, in Brussels one has the impression that this is a kind of retrenchment aimed at preventing the Community from collapsing completely if economic problems continue to intensify.

The original idea of the Community's founders, to weld the Community economically and then build political union upon this structure, is no longer considered feasible.

It remains to be seen whether political cooperation without common economic interests meets a better fate.

Gaston Thorn is attacking the difficulties with typical gusto. After the first four weeks in office his Cabinet chief was no longer able to keep up and had to resign his post but M. Thorn shows no sign of discouragement even in the face of insoluble problems.

He intimated that he did not think much of the one-per-cent sanction and promised that the Commission would put a stop to the method whereby only proposals that have previously been approved by all member-states get on to the Commission agenda.

It was essential to give the Commission more political elbow and make the responsibilities of the Council of Ministers clearer.

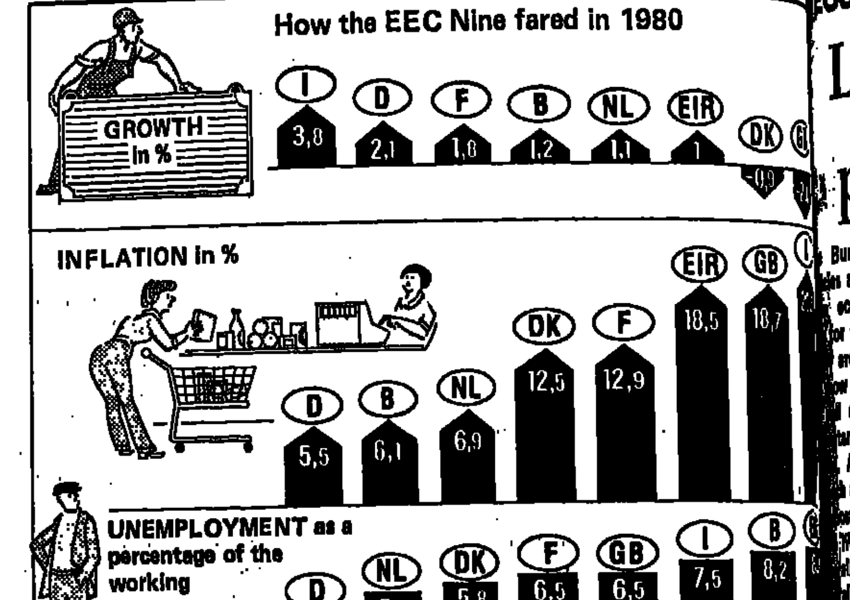
He also wants to put an end to the crisis of confidence in EEC institutions. He wants the row between the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers over the Community budget to be decided politically and not by the courts.

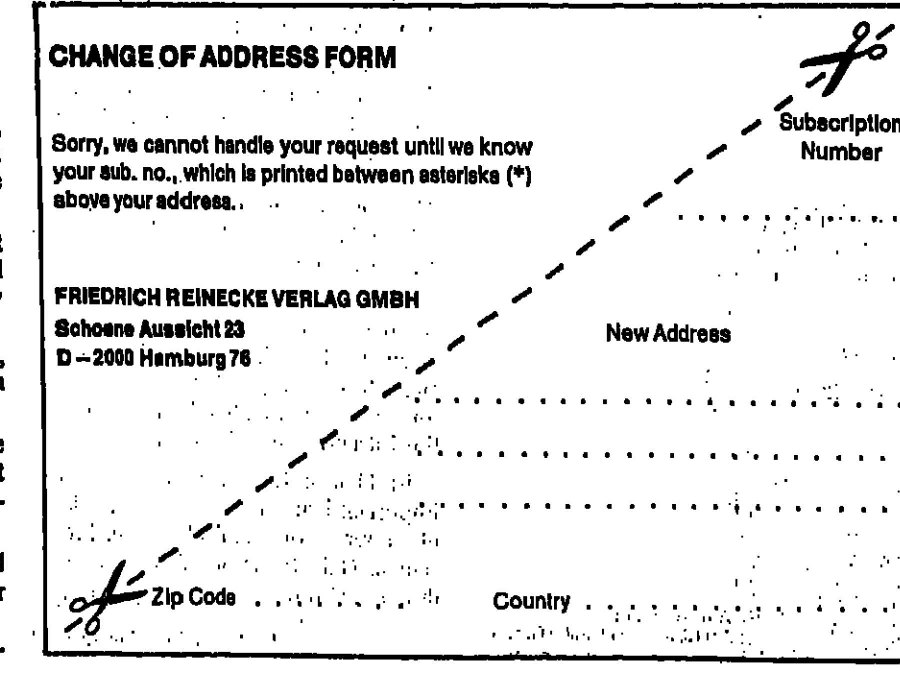
M. Thorn does not intend to accept a reversal of the CAP. He wants better controls and structural adjustments but the policy itself must remain in essence the same.

He told Euro-MPs the Community would have to make progress in consolidating the present system and extending its institutions by the time his term of office had ended. If not, it would disintegrate, he warned.

Heinz Stadlmann

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 February 1981)





Bonn takes E[EC] to court

It is not every day that an EEC [mem]ber-state takes the EEC Comm[ission] to the European Court of Jus[tice]. [It] must have very grave reasons ind[eed for] taking such a step.

The Bonn government now see[ms de]termined to do just this. The iss[ue is a] supplementary budget, called for [by the] Commission and approved by the [Euro]pean Parliament, which will cost [Bonn] DM250m.

Bonn, supported by the Frenc[h and] Belgian governments, is disput[ing the] EEC Commission's right to [intro]duce such a supplementary budget.

The Bonn Ministry of Finance a[rgues] that the expenditure for which th[e sup]plementary budget is required w[as nei]ther absolutely necessary nor co[mpletely] unexpected.

For Finance Minister Hans M[atthöfer] other considerations play an im[portant] part, too.

Bonn recently agreed to tak[e over] some of Britain's Community co[ntribu]tions, and "this will cost over D[M...]". Another factor is that no one ca[n] predict how high agricultural pri[ces] are going to be.

It could well be that member[s] will have to fork out again, sec[ond] there is no money in the Comm[unity] coffers.

Herr Matthöfer is already go[ing to] have to introduce supplementary b[udgets] to fill the gap in the Federal [Labour] Office's budget, which is rising [all the] time with unemployment.

All these payments have t[o be] financed through government loans.

The Bonn rejection of the EEC [sup]plementary budget is underst[andable] against this background alone but [a clari]fication of how and when the EEC [can] demand additional payments [from] members is even more important.

The fact that the Bonn governm[ent is] bringing the case is more of a te[chnical] problem. Originally the Commissi[on, to] clarify the position, wanted to b[ring a] case against Bonn.

The Bonn government would [have] preferred it that way round bu[t the] Brussels experts took a long time d[rafting] the suit and the deadline was on M[...].

Those alarmed at the thought th[at the] Bonn government is "knocking" [the EEC] will be gratified to hear that Bon[n will] withdraw the suit as soon as the [EEC] presents its suit to the European [Court] of Justice.

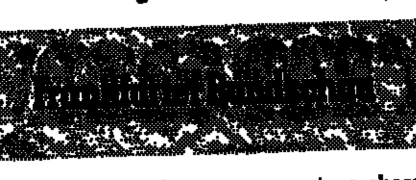
Peter J. W[...]

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 19 Februar[y 1981])

ECONOMICS

Let currencies float and get those pumps primed, says FDP pundit

[The] Bundesbank's high interest rate [polic]ies are coming under increasing fire [from] economists and politicians, and [calls] for state measures to boost the eco[nomy] are getting louder. This only goes [to sh]ow Keynesian economic philosophy [is st]ill alive and kicking, even though [mone]tarism rules worldwide at the mo[ment]. Advocates of the Keynesian ap[proach] are to be found in the SPD, as the [boo]ks of the group led by Uwe Jens [and] Wolfgang Roth show, and among [the FD]P. One of the oldest Keynesian [FDP...] is emeritus professor Hans-[Joach]im Rüstow. Professor Rüstow, 80, [was] for many years FDP economic [advis]er and played a major part in draft[ing] the Freiburg theses. He advises [politi]cians to allow currencies to float [freel]y and to make additional state [inves]tments.



[O]ptimistic hopes of an upturn in the economy in mid-1981 are now [givin]g way to the pessimistic prediction [that] unemployment will worsen steadily [thro]ughout the year, reaching levels we [have] not experienced in the last two de[cade]s.

[The]re have been calls for economy-[boost]ing programmes from various quar[ters], but the government has rejected [such] measures out of hand.

[T]o judge whether these proposals are [just]ified or could be effective one must be clear about the reasons for the [slow]down in investment and for the in[creas]e in unemployment.

[Th]e superiority of our private enter[prise] competitive economic system is [tha]t it only what is profitable is pro[duce]d and invested.

[It] follows that a rise in the cost of [inves]tment loans as a result of the se[cond] increase in Bank rate and the 50-[per]cent rise in the money market inter[est ra]te were bound the reduce private [inve]stment considerably.

[This] was sure to rule out some invest[ment] projects as unprofitable and there[fore] to lead inevitably to a reduction of [jobs] in the investment goods industry.

[It] is therefore inconsistent for advo[cates] of the free market economy to [give] all kinds of reasons for the drop in [inve]stment and to blame company [boss]es.

[Th]e reduction in orders has already [led t]o cuts in production in the invest[ment] goods industry resulting not only [in sh]ort time working but in staff cuts.

[Th]e reduced investment in production and in jobs will later intensify un[em]ployment. For the time being, how[ever], unemployment will rise simply be[cause] the demand for consumer goods [from] those working in the investment [good]s industry will drop.

[It] will do so because of lower wage [inco]me and because the cost-profit fac[tor f]or finished industrial products is deteriorating.

[Sta]tistics show that the share of in[come] from entrepreneurial activity has [real]ly dropped correspondingly. This [proc]ess will intensify in an upward spir[al].

[Th]e drop in the cost-profit factor for [finish]ed products and the resultant loss [of jo]bs because costs cannot be covered [ag]ain reduce investors' profit expec[tation]s.

[Inv]estment activity is reduced first by [a ri]se in loan costs and then by lower [profit] expectations. The lower the investment quotient, or percentage share of investment goods in the gross domestic product, the more unfavourable the cost-profit relation in industry as a whole and the greater the number of companies and jobs which will go out of business and be lost because earnings simply no longer exceed costs.

On the other hand, the number of new production plants and jobs being created through investment is lower the lower the level of overall industrial investment becomes.

The opposite effect occurs when there is great overall industrial investment and a higher investment quotient.

This means that the number of profitable jobs and thus of employment and, primarily growth depends on the size of the investment quotient — as the diagrams show.

The first diagram shows how growth depends on the size of the investment quotient in the long term average and internationally. The second shows how employment and growth are dependent on the investment quotient in the short term.

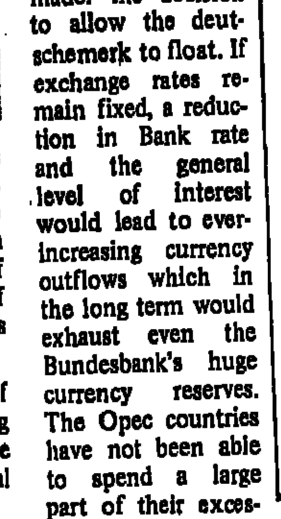
The rise in unemployment is caused by a reduction of overall economic investment due to higher loan costs, lower profits and lower profit expectations.

A reduction of interest rates would increase investment activity and help the economy to break out of the self-perpetuating vicious circle of economic downturn.

In the last upswing, a considerable rise in the investment quotient led to a rise of almost one million jobs from mid-1977 to mid-1980.

An appropriate — i.e. considerable — reduction of interest levels could compensate for all the investment-inhibiting factors even in the present recession and could thus lead the German economy to a new upswing even in a period of world recession.

This would, however, presuppose a political decision which is unlikely to be made: the decision to allow the deutschemerk to float. If exchange rates remain fixed, a reduction in Bank rate and the general level of interest would lead to ever-increasing currency outflows which in the long term would exhaust even the Bundesbank's huge currency reserves. The Opec countries have not been able to spend a large part of their excessive currency inflow in the form of imports from oil-importing countries.



The financing of the resultant deficit in our balance of payments requires us initially to direct a corresponding amount of Opec currency into our economy by means of loans raised on the Eurodollar market. These loans totalled well over DM100bn last year.

This however presupposes an interest rate which is not significantly lower than that of other oil-importing countries, who also need currency to pay for more expensive oil.

As long as we stick to a fixed DM rate within the EMS, which directly entails a relatively close tie to the dollar and other non-EMS currencies, we cannot in fact afford a reduction in Bank rate and of the general level of interest.

This means, however, that the economy will continue to slump and unemployment will increase.

In the circumstances, calls for economy-boosting measures are understandable. Given the already high level of state indebtedness, there is no way that state investment can completely make up for the drop in private investment as a result of high interest rates.

In the upswing of 1979 overall investment rose by DM62bn and even last year, the final months of which showed clear recessive tendencies, there was still an overall rise in investment of DM32bn.

For 1981 an absolute drop in overall investment is predicted. This means that loan-funded additional government investment would have to reach colossal proportions to compensate for the private industry investment shortfall.

However, only a fraction of this huge notional sum would be necessary if the state aided private investment. But only a considerable sum in aid would compensate for the cost rise caused by the increase in interest rate.

This investment aid would therefore have to be restricted to investment which would reduce oil imports (investments to increase home energy production and to reduce oil consumption).

In addition, subsidies could be given for investments in areas of urgent need, needs which the rise in interest levels has made it almost impossible to satisfy, private housebuilding for example.

Investment subsidies could also be given for environmental measures.

Of course these investment subsidies would have to be for a limited period — say three years. There can be no objection in principle to such subsidies as they merely anticipate investments that would have been made later anyway.

Increased investment activity over two years could considerably soften the recession, reduce the severity of the recession and even generate a new upswing, which could then be boosted by a further reduction of interest rates.

Furthermore, the increase in the overall investment quotient would improve the profit-cost ratio and profit expectations of company bosses, thus making further investment in and outside the investment-subsidy area profitable.

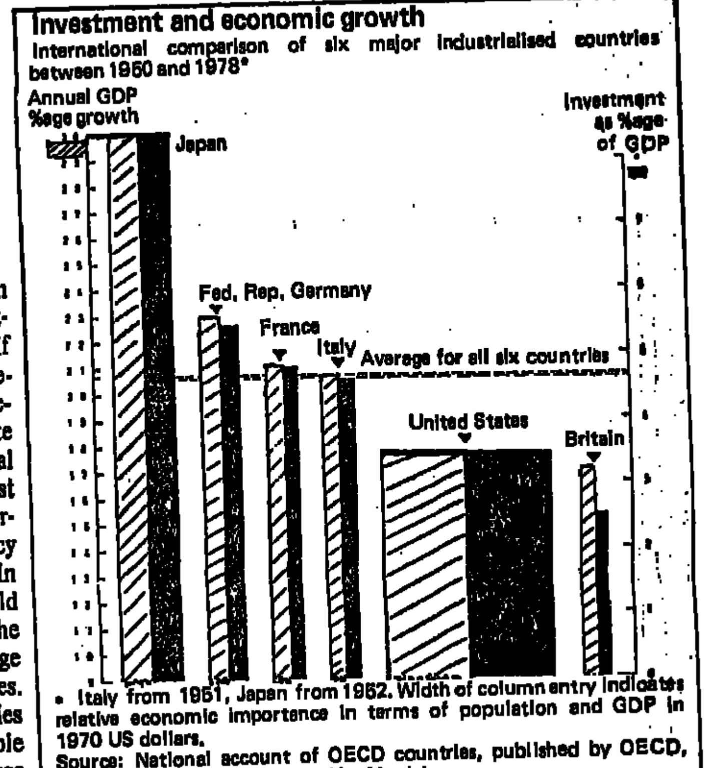
Additional state spending for limited investment subsidies would be cancelled out by the increase in tax revenue and reduced unemployment benefit payments in a relatively short period. This would justify an increase in the national debt.

Employment in the 80s will depend on the amount of investment during this period. Statistical calculations of the job-destroying effects of rationalisation and the resultant unemployment overlook the fact that employment and growth depends on the overall investment quotient.

This shows a fundamental misunderstanding of elementary cyclical connections in our economic system.

Hans-Joachim Rüstow

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 February 1981)



* Italy from 1951, Japan from 1952. Width of column entry indicates relative economic importance in terms of population and GDP in 1970 US dollars.
Source: National account of OECD countries, published by OECD, Paris, and figures compiled by Ifo, Munich.

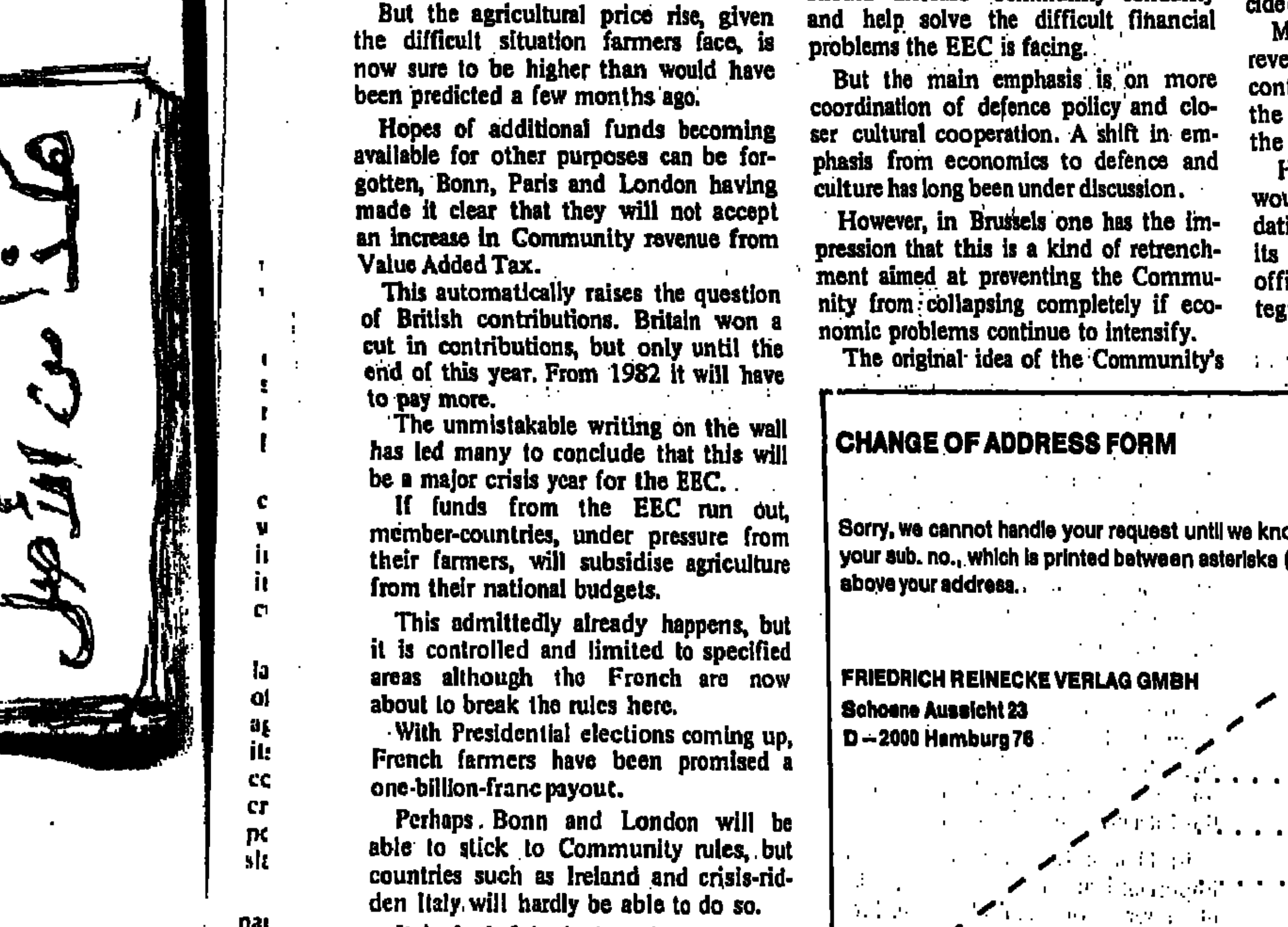
Investment quotients (equipment and stocks), GDP and employment in the Federal Republic of Germany

Real percentage change

Investment quotients — Employment — GDP %

Changes in: Investment quotient; GDP; Employment

Source: Federal Statistics Office, Wiesbaden, and figures compiled by Ifo, Munich.



SHIPPING

Hamburg journalist works on supertanker, exposes disregard for safety at sea

Hair-raising tales have been told by a Hamburg journalist who served as third mate on board a supertanker unsafe at any speed where one safety regulation after another was flouted.

He signed on with papers obtained legally but barely worth the paper they were printed on, for instance.

His tale comes as no surprise to shipping circles but has shocked Bonn, where the authorities have been galvanised into action to help ensure safety at sea.

The supertanker, 250 metres long, had come from Curacao and was bound for Philadelphia with a cargo of 71,000 tons of crude. It was Bonny Light, a fairly thin oil.

"Visibility was a mere two knots, or almost fog," wrote the third mate. "There were four of us on the bridge staring into the gloom.

"We were hard by the US coastline on a busy shipping route, but when I made to switch on the radar the first officer said, in all seriousness: 'The light's fine. Forget it!'

"I had visions of a madman driving flat out at a stone wall in a car with no brakes with the intention of not steering clear of the wall until the last moment."

Yet a last-ditch evasion manoeuvre would have been too late. No supertanker can be steered clear of an obstacle at the last minute.

At a distance of two knots, or about *3,700 metres*, a collision with any ship that hove into sight would have been inevitable.

"In our position we would have spilt our oil over the entire eastern seaboard of the United States," the third mate said, adding that regulations for the prevention of collisions at sea had been breached at least once a day.

"They included Regulation 6: safe speed; Regulation 7b: use of radar; Regulation 8: evasion manoeuvres in good time; and Regulation 19d: avoidance of proximity."

The third mate has retold his tale dozens of time, in radio interviews and on TV talk shows, the tale of conditions on board a supertanker owned by a Greek-Syrian company.

It was under charter to a US company, registered in Panama and crewed by 34 men of nine nationalities including a Greek captain and a Syrian first officer.

They were barely able to understand one another on the job and guilty of one breach of international maritime conventions after another, it was alleged.

Fishing vessels were endangered. Oil was pumped into the sea despite bans. The log, the most important document on board ship, was cooked.

Life-saving and fire-fighting exercises were unheard-of, and this was but the second part of the tale told by a man who set out to learn the grim and unpalatable truth about safety at sea in general and on board a certain category of supertanker in particular.

Part One was the way in which he, a journalist by profession and a yachtsman in his spare time, obtained from a Central American consulate the papers of a ship's officer with neither experience nor training nor evidence of either.

Christian Jungblut, 37, is a reporter on the Hamburg magazine *Geo*, which

DIE ZEIT

told his tale, headed *Angst und 71 000 Tonnen Öl*, in its January issue.

The shock waves soon reached Bonn, where Transport Minister Volker Hauff said it would be appalling if only half what Jungblut alleged were true and ordered his staff to check the allegations immediately.

In the Bundestag parliamentary state secretary Mahne of the Transport Ministry reassured Hamburg MPs Freimut Duve and Peter Paterna that action had been taken.

The *Geo* report had been felt by the Bonn government to warrant calling on the country in question to either review or discontinue the way in which it issued papers for ship's officers.

In 1979 safety officers inspected 176 foreign-registered ships in German ports; 159 were found fault with and 43 were forbidden to set sail until the defects had been rectified to some extent.

In the first six months of last year 55 out of 100 ships were found to be defective and 10 were refused permission to set sail until something had been done about their shortcomings.

Jungblut comes from a well-known family of Hamburg ship's pilots. Nearly 20 years ago he sailed for a year as a cabin boy on board a small freighter.

He has since kept to yachting in his spare time; his brother Thomas is one of the country's foremost regatta yachtsmen.

He merely proved a point that has been an open secret in shipping circles for years: conditions on board some ships, especially tankers, are an increasing disgrace. In the old days of steam shipping every ship that was caught in breach of pollution regulations was promptly fined by the port authority.

There was only one way to prompt the memory of masters determined to save money wherever they could, and that was to impose a fine, and the heavier the better!

Jungblut's report and the conditions he pillories apply first and foremost to the flags of convenience. An owner who registers his ship under a flag of convenience can save enough money to make the difference between profit and loss.

So convenience registry has an important economic role to play in merchant shipping, altmough it is still frowned on by some.

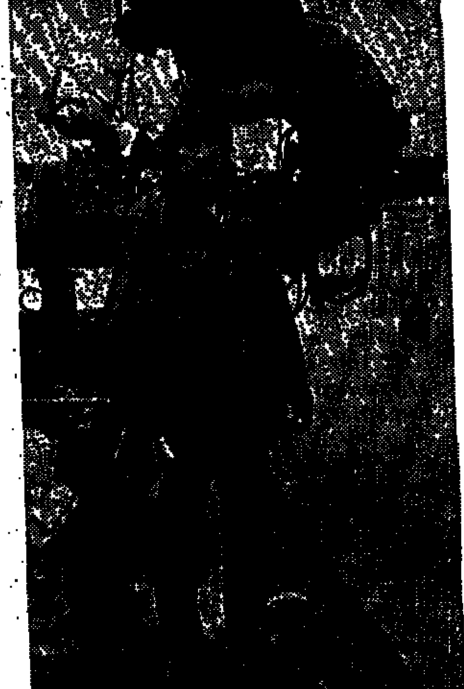
One can well imagine a young Hamburg shipowner announcing, after the third whisky at his club bar, that he intended to deregister ships that once flew the German ensign and transfer to a cut-price flag.

"Your grandfather would turn over in his grave if he knew," older men would say. But there is less and less pride in flying the ensign of one's own country nowadays.

The trouble with flags of convenience is that ships which sail under them need safety checks twice or three times as frequent and as thorough as those registered in traditional maritime countries.

Yet checks are haphazard at the best of times and often never take place. No-one knows and no-one cares about ship's safety, about officers' qualifications, about stores and the crew's wages.

Christian Jungblut's story highlights a state of affairs about which a few extra facts are readily itemised.



Christian Jungblut, as third mate on board the tanker *Aladin B*. (Photo: Jungblut)

By 1979 Liberia accounted for nearly a third of the world's tanker fleet in terms of cargo tonnage: 114.3m out of 368.4m tons deadweight.

Panama, another flag of convenience, totalled 11.7m deadweight tons, making it the ninth-largest tanker fleet in the world.

These figures will have since increased, and flags of convenience are particularly unsafe havens for ageing tankers, which are a problem now more than half the world's tanker fleet is over 10 years old.

A 12-year-old supertanker is an old lady and the *Aladin B*, Jungblut's tanker, was 14. That is nothing unusual for a Panamanian-registered tanker.

Eighty per cent are 10 years old and older. The same is true of 50 per cent of Liberian-registered tankers.

This is not to say that there are no ships flying flags of convenience that are not in perfect condition, but that is not the rule in a cut-throat freight business.

A glance at the wrecks insured by Lloyds is enought to show that with one major exception flags of convenience recur time and again.

Liberia occurs out of all proportion to its share of world tonnage in the confidential list of major fires or explosions at sea reported to the Salvage Association, London, between January 1979 and April 1980.

Monrovia, for instance, was the home port of the *Amoco Cadiz*, which broke up off the coast of Brittany on 17 March 1978 (International Shipping Day, ironically), polluting the French Atlantic seaboard with 220,000 tons of oil.

The masters of ships registered under flags of convenience are, for the most part, Greeks. This will come as no surprise to those who know their maritime history and sociology.

The Greeks have enjoyed a reputation as first-rate sailors since the Battle of Salamis, which was nearly 2,500 years ago.

But the Greek ensign is not much better where safety is concerned than the flags of convenience that so often are used by ships with Greek captains.

Greece is the exception that proves the rule of Liberia, Panama and a handful of other flags of convenience being the countries in which most ships involved in accidents at sea are registered.

A Greek tanker, the *Styros*, was accused of being responsible for the latest oil slick in the North Sea, for instance.

Alexander Rost

(Die Zeit, 13 February 1981)

Ships should carry black boxes in North Sea – Stoltenberg

Premier Gerhard Stoltenberg of Schleswig-Holstein has called for supervision of shipping from the German Bight to the English Channel along lines similar to air traffic control.

Plans might have been drawn up for improvements in safety at sea, he wrote in an article for the March issue of the Hamburg magazine *Geo*, but they were not being implemented at present because of the cost.

He called on the Bonn government to join forces with Britain, France and Holland in establishing a safety zone in the North Sea off Holland and Germany.

Tankers should be given right of way and the number of crossroads off the German North Sea coast reduced.

He welcomed the decision to make pilots obligatory from April. This first step in the direction of safety at sea had been a longstanding demand made by the coastal countries.

For both tankers and other vessels he demanded the introduction of black boxes as used in national and international aviation.

They were technically feasible and would play a major part in ensuring that a check was kept on actual ship's movements and on safety at sea.

The black box could record time, position, course, speed, steering and draught. It could videotape the radar and tape the ship's radio and commands from the bridge.

When proceedings were held the black box might well provide evidence crucial in establishing what had actually happened prior to a collision or other mishap.

Lasting improvements in ship's safety could only be accomplished by dint of international cooperation and it was up to Bonn to mobilise sufficient political energy, Herr Stoltenberg said.

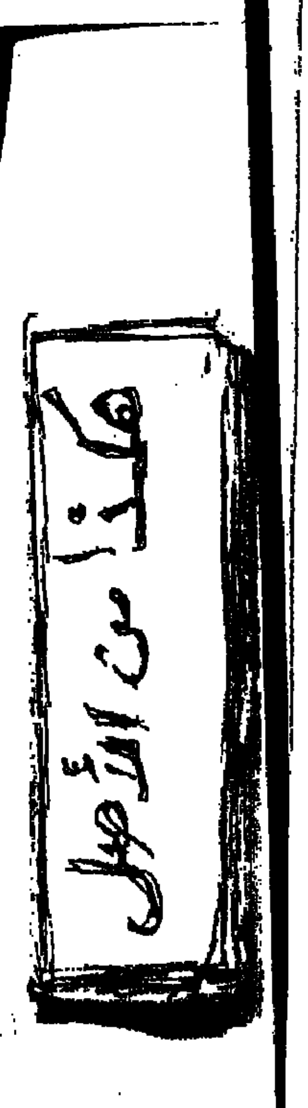
To contain pollution in the North Sea the Bonn government is currently preparing a Bill to ratify the international agreement reached by 12 nations accounting for more than 40 per cent of world tonnage.

The countries concerned undertake to penalise all ships that pump oil, chemicals and solid waste into the sea without permission.

The Bonn Transport Ministry expects 15 countries accounting for half the world's merchant navy tonnage to have ratified the agreement by the end of the year. Further countries are hoped to follow suit.

rtt

(Die Welt, 21 February 1981)



THE CINEMA

Spanish film wins 1981 Berlin Golden Bear

Spanish director Carlos Saura's *Deprisa, Deprisa* (Hurry, Hurry), a film about youth gang violence in Madrid, won the Golden Bear award as the best film of the 31st International Berlin Film Festival. The award to the Spanish film came as something of a surprise, as *La Provinciale*, a French-Swiss production by Claude Goretta, had been rated favourite. Best actor awards went to Jack Lemmon of the United States, Anatoli Solonitsyn of the Soviet Union and Barbara Grabowska of Poland. *Das Boot ist voll*, a Swiss entry, won awards for screenplay and direction, and *In Search of Famine*, directed by India's Mrinal Sen, was given a special prize by the festival jury.

This year's Berlin Film Festival got off to a good start but soon slumped into mediocrity. No major film or artistic trends were set.

It concentrated on the product, the film and there was less limelight for the stars. It was a working festival.

It was also the first time the People's Republic of China had taken part in a Western film festival, not with a revolutionary epic but with a film criticising the Party.

China produces about 70 films a year. Their aim is to educate "but in an amusing way, not with poker-faced didacticism."

The Chinese entry, entitled *Come Back Swallow* and directed by Fu Jingong, was a piece of past-mastering revolving around the fate of several main characters.

It dealt with the injustices committed during the 1957/58 Cultural Revolution and the mistakes the Party made in its wake.

The film implicitly asks why young people should atone for the sins of their parents.

The main plot of this over-constructed film story revolves around the love of a young dancer for the son of a former Party secretary.

It turns out that the dancer's mother was exiled to the Mongolian steppes 20 years previously as a dangerous right-wing element who needed to be re-educated.

The secretary who sent her was the young man's father, and coincidences do not stop here.

The father of the counter-revolutionary, whom she divorced so as not to endanger his career and his chances of studying abroad, becomes a famous doctor.

He operates on the dancer, who has injured herself in a fall on the stage, without knowing that he is operating on his own daughter.

The parents' past seems at first to be an insurmountable obstacle to the young couple's love. But it all turns out well in the end, as in a fairy tale.

This conventional, sentimental and sometimes even kitschy film from China does not make matters easy for the Western viewer.

Its montage and flashback techniques are very simple. But one hears sentences such as: "I could not admit I loved you for 20 years — because I was a member of the Party."

What is remarkable about the film is the appeal for humanity, the importance given to individual happiness and the criticism of hasty disciplinary measures.

The Soviet Union has several times entered films for the Berlin Film Festival. But we have seen more interesting Soviet entries than the perfunctory *26 Days in the Life of Dostoyevsky*, made to mark the centenary of the novelist's death.

This film, directed by Alexander Zarchi, concentrates on Dostoyevsky the man, not the writer: the man who cannot pay the rent and who has received an ultimatum from his publisher that the manuscript of his new novel *The Gambler* must be delivered within 26 days.

The novelist is despondent, he does not know if he can write the novel in his own handwriting by this deadline.

Friends send a 20-year-old stenographer, Anna, later to be his wife, to help him.

Anna is a charming, at first timid but then forward artist and ardent admirer of Dostoyevsky. Zarchi retells this episode in his life lovingly and with great attention to detail.

The main strengths of the film are its portrayal of the subtle tensions between the two main characters and the convincing reconstruction of decor and atmosphere.

The less said about the German entries at this year's festival the better. Herbert Achternbusch's *Negro Erwin* turned out to be absurd Bavarian peasant theatre and few could make head or tail of its juicy situation humour and nonsense.

Furthermore, the scatty but sometimes perceptive cracks and dialogues are interspersed with yawn-begetting sequences.

The content can only be described by Achternbusch, who is the producer, author, director and main character in the film.

A released prisoner gets hold of raw eggs. He describes himself as a filmmaker and tries to make a film in the Negro Erwin bar where he was once employed as a negro.

This was because the bar had for centuries had the right to keep a negro as a dog. What then happens is even more bizarre.

The singular cast includes a hippo called Anita, a very fat barmaid, three dim-witted policemen, a violin-playing lieutenant, two tough guys and a landlady.

It appears that Achternbusch was caricaturing world film production in this film. But with only sporadic success. Still, there are some tasty cracks to be heard.

Take, for instance, "gulls are the rats of the air, and Prussians are like gulls" because they "come down here from the north and shit all over everything" (a reference to the Bavarians' traditional dislike of North Germans, contemptuously dismissed as Prussians).

At the end, when star-actor Anita goes into the water, the following dialogue is heard: "The Nile-horse is now going into the Isar. That makes it an Isar-horse. That means that Munich is Africa, so I'll get development aid for my next film."

France this year entered a co-production with Switzerland, *La Provinciale*, by Claude Goretta, which you can call social criticism or social romanticism according to your point of view. It met with a mixed reception.

It is the story of a girl from the country who seeks her fortune in Paris. Disgusted by female dependence and male aggression, she soon turns her back on the big city and returns to her home town.

The film is essentially ironic but contains a number of clichés, which reduces its artistic merit.

Hans Dornbrach

(Nordwest Zeitung, 24 February 1981)

First films at Berlin festival often prove heavy going



The preface to the programme of the Eleventh International Young Film Forum at Berlin warned: "Not all the films on our programme are easily accessible."

Too true. Anyone who wanted to survive these showings had to possess one quality: toughness.

None of the films shown were the type you can lounge back in your seat and really enjoy, neither the morning "Black Cinema in the USA" retrospective nor the average of four films per day shown in the rest of the forum.

As for quality, it slumped considerably in the second part of the forum.

There was a fair whack of drivel in the last section, such as Recha Jungmann's poignantly entitled *Between the Moon and the Stars*, about the problems of founding a family today.

There was some pretty boring stuff, too, such as the Swiss entry based on Max Frisch's novel *Montauk*. It was somewhat reminiscent of the Scenes of Literature TV programme, with an even higher tedium quotient.

Not so Zelito Viana's entry on the Brazilian Indians, who face extinction. *Land of the Indios* was technically and stylistically excellent. It showed scenes from Indio life of unparalleled intensity and originality.

The brief commentary reinforced the effect of the images. It was a minor masterpiece among ethnographical works from the Third World, which are often spoiled by cheap political commentaries.

The Swiss, more strongly represented than ever before at this year's festival, presented an ethnographic film, *Samba lento*, on everyday life and leisure of four Swiss who made music together in the evenings.

It is amazing how long 83 minutes can last when the camera lingers only on faces, gestures, streets and instruments.

The Swiss also presented a film on the Third Reich, a sort of supplement to the main competition entry *The Boat is Full*. The latter describes the cold reception given to Jewish exiles in Switzerland.

Es ist kalt in Brandenburg, on the other hand, was more like a rehabilitation of Switzerland. It is the story of the life of the Swiss Maurice Bavaud, who

Continued on page 11

Children's film fun

The mood in the Ufa film ... was loud and boisterous, ... children's birthday party. And when ... curtain went down on Wolfgang ...ler's *Der rote Strumpf* (The Red ...ing), thunderous applause broke out.

The main actors, including ... TV star Inge Meysel, came ... stage and the audience was invited ... ask questions. At first there was ... silence.

Then a little girl asked: "Are you ...ly as crazy as in the film?"

This was a scene from the children's ... film festival at this year's 31st ... Film Festival. This part of the festival ... for children aged six upwards, is ... firm tradition.

Rarely has the range of children's ... films been as wide as those shown ... year.

Seldom before has there been ... good German entry as Tumler's ... but thought-provoking film on ... friendship between a young girl ... rather strange old lady.

The film sets an example that ... to be imitated.

Other countries have been giving ... excellent examples of how it should ... done for many years, Australia for ... stance.

The Australian entry this year ... titled *Fatty Finn* and based on a ... comic-strip character. This film ... all, from goat races to frog-jum... competitions.

Garishly made up gangsters ... make their appearances, wild tricks ... thought up and two gangs use ... and very unfair methods. The children ... and adults present loved it.

The entries from the East Bloc ... also impressive: two fairy tales, two ... of "kids next door."

The Russians presented a very ... ing version of Pushkin's tale *The ... Daughter and the Seven Warriors* ... the Czech entry was a superb ... entitled *The Story of Hans and ...* ... pictures from an old picture book ... suddenly came to life.

There was a keen response to the ... in which children were asked to ... what they liked and disliked about ... they had seen.

Two answers from many: "I ... that the wicked stepmother is the ... *Daughter* should have been killed" ... "the story of *Fatty Finn* should ... been twice as long, with more gangsters ... and frogs."

Well, the gangsters were harmless ... ough. All that came out of their ... were paper bullets, while the ... brought back to adults happy memories ... of their childhood and make the ... dren wish they too owned such a ... frog.

Gangsters and frogs were the main ... tractions of this year's children's ... festival, many of which illustrated ... lently how films for children should ... made: with humour and ... excitement and a bit of slapstick — ... not too much didacticism.

This also appealed to the many ... who watched these films and were ... doubt glad to recover from all the ... tic adult films they had seen.

M. v. Schwarzkopf

(Die Welt, 20 February ...)

EDUCATION

Bonn Minister is keen on Frankfurt job scheme for 'no-hope' youngsters



Bonn Education Minister Björn Engholm, SPD, is unstinting in his praise of the Rüsselsheim vocational training scheme for young people. "Three things are combined exemplarily in this schema: a practical approach, social responsibility and personal commitment," he said.

The aim of the scheme, which is part publicly and part privately financed, is to give a sound training to youngsters who have been unable to get an apprenticeship elsewhere.

The scheme thereby does something to alleviate the problems of youngsters who have become the victims of the tough selection process in the labour market.

With apprenticeships in short supply only applicants with good academic qualifications have a real chance. Secondary modern school leavers with or without their school certificate are squeezed out of the market alltogether in many cases.

In the Rüsselsheim scheme, 26 youngsters with such disadvantaged backgrounds will take a three year training course as fitters.

Several years of discussion preceded the establishment of this course in the town near Frankfurt, the home of Opel cars. In the course of this discussion much was said about the principles of vocational training in West Germany.

Some saw dangers to the dual system of gaining practical experience at the place of work and more theoretical expertise in day-release courses at vocational schools.

Others felt the scheme was just a cover-up for the failure of leading companies, such as Opel, by far the biggest in Rüsselsheim, to provide an adequate number of apprenticeships.

Despite mutual suspicion, insinuation and speculation those involved in the project at the insistence of parents finally agreed to set up an unusual structure.

The organisation's statutes are extremely, complex, a delight to the lawyers who drew them up but to no-one else.

Recalling the "incredibly long period of preparation," the scheme's chairman, Rüsselsheim SPD councillor Gerhard Löffert, described it as a "miracle that was helped on to its feet."

The scheme which is a registered club, consists of representatives of the towns of Raunheim and Rüsselsheim, of Gross-Gerau administrative district and of Adam Opel AG. It has an executive, a special advisory council and holds regular meetings.

Unlike other schemes in Rüsselsheim which have had greater or lesser degrees of success, the aim of this scheme is to give the apprentices a recognised qualification in a recognised profession.

Furthermore, the scheme is meant to be a social and vocational training policy contribution to stopping discrimination against less academically qualified youngsters.

The official description of the organisation's aims reads as follows: "The objective is to investigate the extent to which male and female adolescents whose access to an apprenticeship as in paragraph 25 of the Vocational Training Act is barred by inadequate academic qualifications or their socialisation can, by means of intensive vocational training and pedagogical measures, be enabled to gain a recognised qualification in the normal apprenticeship period."

In less complicated terminology, this means that 26 youngsters aged between 15 and 20, including seven girls and five foreigners, will spend three years of theoretical and practical training before finally qualifying as fitters.

It is hoped the scheme may point a way forward to a new concept of vocational training.

It is intended to provide out-of-school vocational training. The training will be project and participant-oriented and take place on the organisation's premises and at the Opel works.

Rüsselsheim bought a disused factory for 1.2 million DM. It was converted into a teaching and administrative centre and the local authorities then rented it to the organisation.

The staff involved in the scheme are a training director, two training officers, a social worker and a social pedagogue and part time psychologist and teacher.

The vocational school part of the scheme is run by the Gross-Gerau vocational school, which has released a teacher for the scheme.

The last word has not yet been spoken about further personnel.

On the job training takes place at Opel; it lasts a year and starts eighteen months after apprentices have started the scheme.

There will be a high level of coordination between what the apprentices learn in the workshop the factory and at school, but the teaching framework plans of the Hesse Ministry of Culture remain binding.

The scheme, initially planned to run five years, is aimed not only at improving the situation in Rüsselsheim and Raunheim but also at stopping the discrimination against socially and educationally disadvantaged youngsters.

Special forms of teaching and of content are to be worked out.

It is hoped that this will provide insights into the possible need for further qualifications.

It should also ensure greater pedagogical sensibilisation on the part of the training officers and possibilities of cooperation between practical and vocational school training.

The organisation said that the concept behind the scheme is the "orientation towards a product and project-oriented training."

With admirable lucidity, the explanatory document added: "Machine and training places are arranged group-relatedly. Within the framework of the training concept, it is also intended to improve vocational training in general."

Another aim was to enable the apprentices to become familiar with work structures and requirements. The scheme is assured of expert educational advice. Its scientific advisor is Professor Joachim Münch of Kaiserslautern University.

This new idea, which brings new hope, costs money, of course. Total expenditure is estimated at DM6.9m, of which the Bonn government contributed DM3.8m, Hesse DM52,000 and the association it self DM3m.

Of this DM 3m, 36 per cent comes from Rüsselsheim and Opel, 23 per cent from Gross-Gerau and five per cent from Raunheim.

Education Minister Engholm's reference to the present situation underlined how great the expectations of the scheme are:

"In times of economic difficulty we must not and cannot simply stand idly by while more than 100,000 youngsters leave school every year without any formal qualification and face the prospect of unemployment or dead-end jobs."

On top of this were the 200,000 young foreigners in this country without professional qualifications.

"We cannot just send them into a waiting room whre they maybe have a chance of some temporary job but where the door towards permanent unemployment is open much wider than the door towards permanent employment," he said.

Rüsselsheim mayor Karl-Heinz Storsberg looked to the future at the opening ceremony:

"I consider this scheme highly suitable, especially for an industrial conurbation. Indeed I would even make so bold as to say it is indispensable.

"It will open a way into life for youngsters with learning difficulties, a way which does not entail a downward orientation but points to future perspectives in sharp contradistinction to the past."

Walter Keber

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 February 1981)

Continued from page 10

tried to shoot Hitler in Berlin in 1938 and was executed.

The film is a bewildering tangle of documentary scenes, photos and letters. It enshrouds the young would-be assassin in thick clouds of fog and suffocates him in drivel.

John Lowenthal's documentary *The Trials of Alger Hiss* showed just what consistent directing, a good commentary and well-chosen images can do. In my view, this was the best film in the Young Forum.

Lowenthal, who has himself practised as a lower in New York, tells the tale of Alger Hiss, who in 1948 was accused of passing important documents to a Communist spy ring.

Hiss had been a high-ranking official in the State Department. His guilt could not be proved.

This black-and-white film is more exciting than many a thriller. Its strength is the drama of the Hiss trials, the skilful switch from old movie newsreels to interviews with Hiss today and with others involved in the trial.

The discovery and presentation of this excellent first film was a plus for the forum, but sadly it was submerged in ten days of tedious entries and yawn-making polit-dramas.

M. v. Schwarzkopf

(Die Welt, 24 February 1981)

■ HEALTH

You can't itch without skin, Berlin specialist tells Wiesbaden congress

You can't itch without skin, Professor Stüttgen of Berlin told doctors on an in-service course at the German Diagnostic Clinic in Wiesbaden.

He was summarising the latest state of knowledge on the physiology and pathology of prurigo, or the common itch, in all its aspects.

Prurigo can, for instance, be accompanied by many *skin changes. It can* also be a sign of many internal diseases.

Strictly speaking, however, prurigo is an itch that is not accompanied by changes *in the skin. It is, in other words,* a subjective feeling.

Lacking clinical symptoms that can objectively ascertained, as it were, it makes matters extremely difficult for the doctor who is treating the case.

Diagnosis is difficult, therapy even more so, since itching occurs as a symptom of countless complaints.

They range from insect bites and parasitoses, such as scabies, to upsets of the metabolism and diseases of the liver, the bile, the kidneys and the blood.

An itch *is thus a subjective symptom* and can barely be ascertained objectively. So it is hardly surprising that the sick person's state of mind is extremely important.

Perception is liable to be strongly influenced by emotional factors, such as tension or fear.

So prurigo is a complaint requiring the attention of a wide range of medical disciplines including internal medicine, dermatology, psychiatry and psychosomatics.

Yet *you still can't have* an itch without skin, since it is only felt in the epidermis, the surface area where both itch and pain are registered.

The sum total of threshold pain felt as an itch or tickle does not occur in non-epidermic parts of the skin. The threshold is higher in areas that are less sensitive to pain.

Patients who are congenitally insensitive to pain will never suffer from an itch. Where pain is not felt an itch will not be felt either.

It may thus be assumed that the sensation of the itch is relayed to the brain along the same nerve fibres as is pain. The difference between the two is generally *taken to be merely one of degree.*

There is certainly a connection between itch and pain in many cases. Scratching, for instance, causes pain that alleviates the irritation of an itch.

The itch may also be interrupted by means of experimental pinpricks, acoustic irritation or concentration.

What makes it so *difficult* to understand, however, is that an itch can be triggered suggestively in a manner that does not occur in respect of any other *perceptive sense.*

The mere description of an itch, verbal rather than visual, can be enough to induce a similar itch in the listener. The power of suggestion is so strong that the listener too feels the need to scratch.

A variety of scratching techniques are used to deal with the problem, such as rubbing, pressing, kneading and pinching.

This mechanical treatment may, the medical profession currently feels, trigger secondary symptoms in the skin consisting of tiny knots.

In 1953 a mechanical device was used to scratch a clinically unchanged and non-itching section of skin for an hour a *day, resulting in these nodules being* created.

There are generally assumed to be factors that favour the development of an itch, such as mechanical and physical irritation, the release of chemical substances, widening of the blood vessels, changes in circulation and a change in the potassium and calcium count of tissue.

The chemicals *referred to include* histamine, *trypsine, prostaglandins,* Bradykinine or a substance known simply as P, a polyeptide released by endoprotease.

At all events an itch or dermatosis, which is naturally a symptom of many skin diseases, may also be an important sign of a complaint of a more general kind.

Many patients who have to undergo regular dialysis on account of kidney failure suffer from a strong itch the cause of which has still to be satisfactorily *established.*

It may be that a dislocation of the potassium-calcium metabolism causes deposits on the skin, but the blame is also laid on an allergy caused by contact with the tubes that are part of being attached to an artificial kidney.

In haematology an itch is often a symptom of leukaemia or a lymphoma, in which case it is particularly intensive, lasting and a torture.

Prurigo also frequently occurs in liver complaints, as it does in complaints that lead to stenosis or blockages of the blood vessels, which usually leads to congestion of gallic acid and jaundice.

The seriousness of the jaundice need not in any way be proportionate to the strength of the itch

Physical factors, such as cold accompanied by low humidity or, for that matter, heat can cause an itch given the right kind of skin.

Then, of course, there is the mechanical irritation caused by coarse textile fibres or by exaggerated attention to cleanliness.

In the past it may have been more appropriate than it is today to advise people to wash an itch rather than scratch it. Nowadays intensive ex- aggerated washing and bathing lead to *premature dryness* of the sk

This is a frequent cause of especially as an epidermis chang this way will, just like skin suff from eczema, will tend to be more sitive to an itch than healthy skin.

This is easily proved by applying ing powder to the skin for purpos comparison.

Thus in certain circumstances clous circle of itching and scratch occurs that quickly leads to deterio of the skin condition.

Besides, there is a grave risk of ing and scratching growing hab with the result that the patient on doing it even after the cau been *eliminated.*

The psychological aspect was dea with at length in Wiesbaden. ease with which an itch can be ed *naturally exerts a strong influen* the possible psychological fixation.

Prurigo is described as a psycho tative, psycho-neurotic or psychotic drome, G. Maass of the host noted. His general advice was overrate complaints about an itch cause of which was not readily app

But an itch may only be diagnos psychogenic or as prurigo sine ma once all other possible causes have ruled out.

Treatment of the complaint is a ficult as its causes are varied. Extern internal therapy using skin ointme tranquillisers can only be a makeshift rangement.

Real help can only be provided the root cause or the patholog change in the patient's skin con has been identified and dealt with.

Prurigo is a pointer for the doct a pain for the patient. It is a com that must be taken seriously and trea accordingly.

Dörthe Wack

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Ze für Deutschland, 18 Februar

Doubts about doctors

Nearly 15 million Germans consult non-medical practitioners rather than their family doctor, and an increasing number are doing so.

Dr Walter Hewerl of Caritas Hospital, Bad Mergentheim, has gone into the reasons why more people are losing confidence in conventional medicine.

About 20 million Germans, or one in three, seriously doubted whether the medical profession really knew what they were talking about, he discovered.

When they consulted other kinds of doctor they felt they were given more personal attention and a more personal treatment than by their general medical practitioner.

(Welt am Sonntag, 22 February 1981)

Instructions scare patients into not taking medicine

Instruction leaflets have been mandatory since 1976 for pharmaceutical *products, but so far they* have proved singularly unhelpful as far as the average pill-taker is concerned.

Instead of supplying meaningful information about the contents of the package, leaflets tend to make patients feel so insecure as on occasion even to refuse to take the drug.

The 1976 Pharmaceuticals Act requires leaflets to list symptoms or complaints for which the drug may prove useful, also illnesses for which it is not advisable.

They *must also specify side-effects,* effects that may occur in combination with other drugs and various other details. Information must be as comprehensive as possible.

This requirement is based on the patients' right to be told as much as possible about the nature of their treatment and the risks it may entail.

Only once they have access to the facts can they decide whether or not they intend to go ahead with the course of treatment.

The information provided constitutes an additional problem because it is also aimed at the doctor and thus mainly couched in abstruse medical terms the *patient is unlikely to understand.*

The manufacturer is naturally interested in providing comprehensive information to avoid liability in the event of the drug proving a health hazard as, for instance, in the case of thalidomide.

Clofibrat is a recent example of a drug that has led to most unsatisfactory results *largely as a result of the accom*panying leaflet and the wide range of requirements with which it is expected to comply.

It is prescribed as a lipid, or fat, reducer, but between 5 and 30 per cent of patients simply don't take it. After reading the leaflet they are scared stiff because of the side-effects listed as possible.

Doctors, chemists, drug manufacturers, psychologists and sociologists discussed at a recent conference of the Medico-Pharmaceutical Study Association ways and means of making drug leaflets more in keeping with patients' needs.

All agreed that leaflets *cannot continue* as currently compiled. Otherwise medical prescriptions are likely to prove a waste of time (not to mention money, given the number of pills that are just not taken).

Medicine has an important role to play over and above its pharmaceutical function, according to Georg Weiss from Mannheim. It is part of a package the patient either accepts or rejects.

The other part of the package is doctor. If the patient *has confiden* his doctor he will have confiden the drugs he prescribes too.

This confidence often builds a b between doctor and patient, hol forth the promise of help even be the complaint has been satisfacto diagnosed, said Erika Faust-Kübler Basle, Switzerland.

Market research by Infratest ind that young people, 91 per cent of th actually read the leaflets. But it does leave them much the wiser.

Indeed, it can prove confusing, misunderstood and lead to loss of fidence in the doctor. Expensive thus fall to have the desired result.

One way out of the problem coul to print separate leaflets for doctor patient. But this would require amendment to existing legislation revision of the terms of liability and statutory requirement to inform the tient.

Yet even with the law as it stand the statute book a *number* of im ments could ge made without a of the statutory obligation to k patient informed.

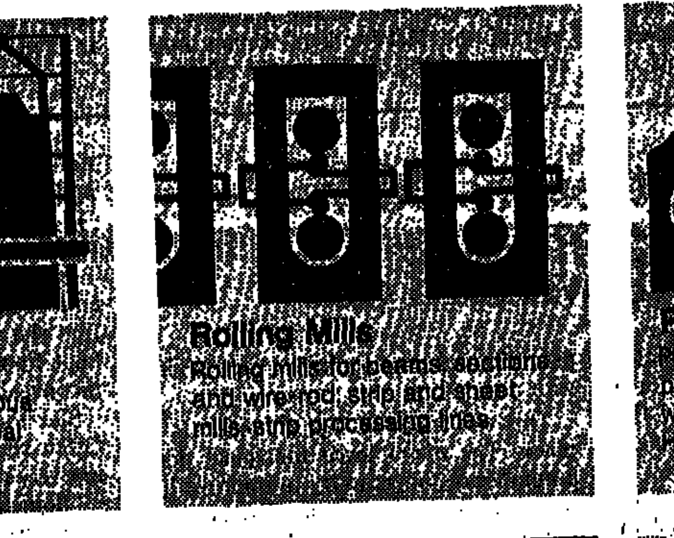
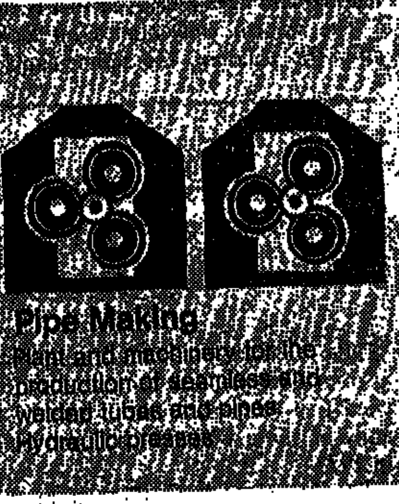
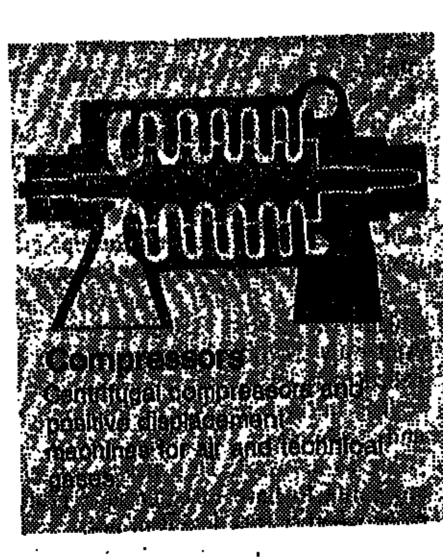
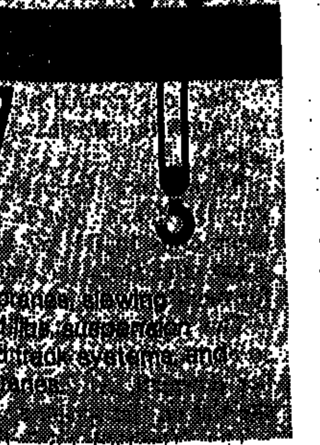
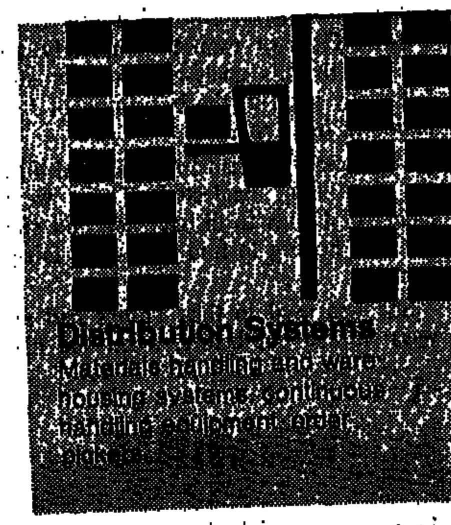
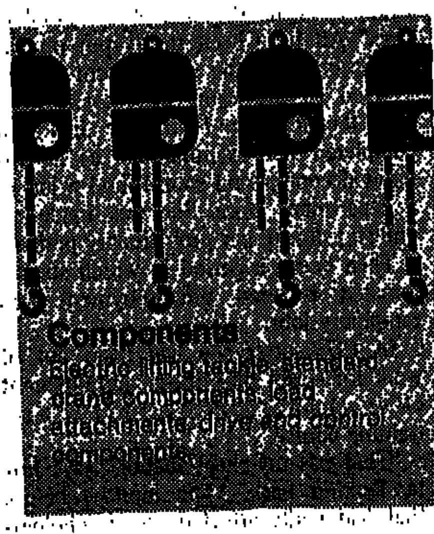
SPD Bundestag MP Udo Fi strongly opposed to even an atte draft fresh legislation. The 1976 been a bid to embark on medicine, he said.

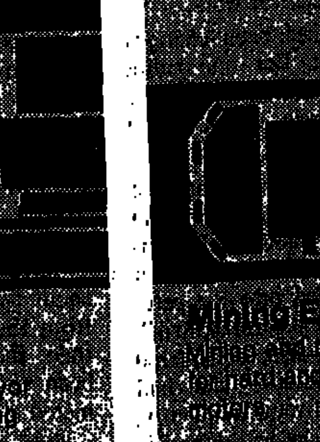
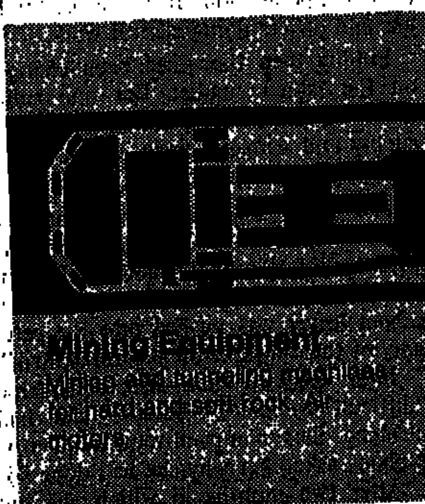
In present political circumstance attempt to amend the Pharma Act could open the gates for an tion of further legislation.

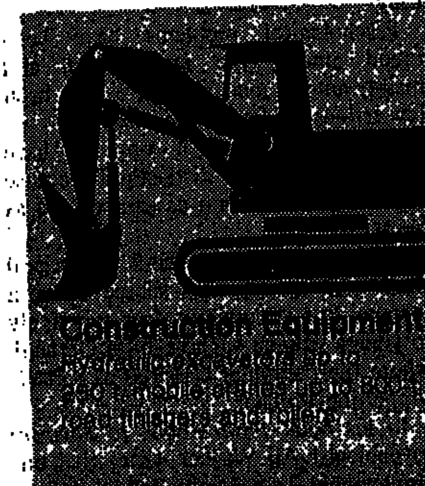
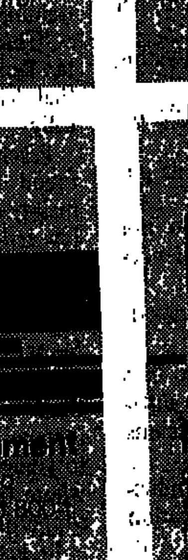
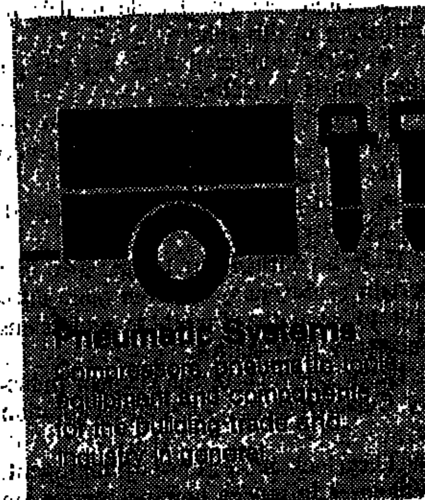
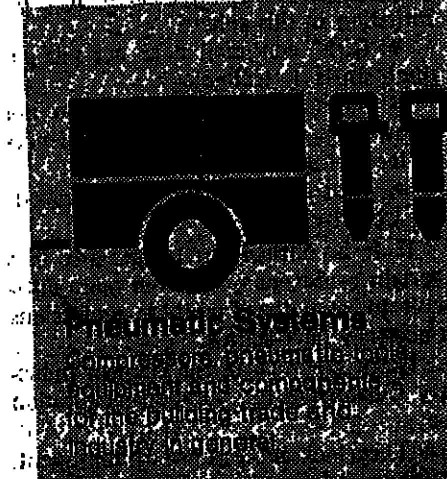
Angela H

(Die Welt, 21 February



■ **MODERN LIVING**

Lufthansa lifts ban on women pilots but who will insure pregnancy risk?

Women already serve in the Bundeswehr, but only as medics. Lufthansa recently announced that it will be starting to train female pilots shortly.

This means that women have now entered two previously all-male preserves. But very few women indeed will be able to savour the fruits of equality.

Even now, almost half female apprenticeships are in five professions out of a possible 412: hairdresser, doctor's assistant, sales assistant, clerical worker and industrial saleswoman.

Girls continue to be mainly interested in services, jobs which involve helping and tending.

"As long as the girls' parents encourage their daughters to play a certain role and teachers recommend girls to take domestic science rather than woodwork or metalwork nothing much is likely to change here," says Siegrid Kümmerlein of of German Trade and Industry Congress.

"As long as boys play with cars and girls run around with dolls in their arms girls' professional ambitions are unlikely to change."

Employers, industry and government are now tackling this problem in rare unison. They have got to, because time is running out.

In his last report as Minister of Education on vocational training Jürgen Schmude estimated that with the drop in the birth rate there will be only about half the number of apprenticeships available in 1987 as are available today.

In 1980, 651,800 youngsters signed indentures. About 250,000 were girls. And only 27,700 of them opted for so-called male jobs.

It is in these men's jobs, in commerce and technology, that the shortage is going to be worst. This means that girls are going to have to enter such professions whether they like it or not.

Frau Kümmerlein says: "It is not that girls cannot learn technical jobs. But they just are not interested."

Experimental government projects are going to change this. The main emphasis will be on metallurgy and electrical engineering. About half the 1,000 girls taking part in the schemes are taking apprenticeships in these areas.

The Schmude report is optimistic: 90 per cent of the girls who took these courses would recommend a "male" profession to their female friends. But the problems are in the present:

- Most girls are only interested in so-called typical women's jobs (90 per cent).
- Parents have difficulty motivating their daughters.
- There are few female models for imitation in this sphere.
- Girls' education does not put enough stress on technology.
- As a result, girls simply do not know very much about natural sciences or technology.
- Most of them have not had practical work training.

If it is difficult to tempt girls into certain professions, it is even more difficult to keep them in those professions once they have started.

Helen Diedrich of the German Industry Curatorium for Vocational Education says:

"They lack professional commitment. Whenever in-service training courses are



offered, women do not turn up in sufficient numbers, even in professions where they are numerically strong."

Statistics from the hairdressing profession underline this: in 1973, only one in four hairdressing apprentices was male. But after six years' training in 1979, one in four fully qualified hairdressers was a man.

And when it comes to taking a entrepreneurial risk and opening a hairdresser's, the figures tell an even clearer story.

Only 38.6 per cent of hairdresser's shops are owned by women, according to Hairdressers' Guild figures.

The interruption of their careers is pre-programmed in the case of most women. Frau Diedrich is bemused:

"Most of these girls complete their apprenticeships at the age of 20. Then they work for a few years, then they get married and have kids. And that is that."

The woman concentrates on looking after the children, the father earns the money. The National Vocational Institute has figures to corroborate this.

Asked whether they regarded their choice of profession as an important factor in their future happiness, two out of three male apprentices answered yes but only one in three girl apprentices did so.

Thirty-one per cent of girl apprentices said the professional success of their future husbands was more important.

Otto Semmler, German Trade Union confederation spokesman on professional education, does not blame industry or handicrafts for the plight of women.

He does, however, concede that many companies treat men differently from women despite the formal equality between them.

The Trier Handicraft Chamber wanted to know the facts. It asked 374 companies if they would accept girls for their apprenticeships. About half said they had no objections.

The main argument of those who said they would not accept girls was that girls were not physically strong enough to cope with the work.

Otto Gotschlich of the Stuttgart district of the Metalworkers' Union made some surprising findings. He asked 84 works councillors in and around [...]gart about the prospects for wo[...] commerce and technology.

His summary: "Women ought [...] more conscious of their own w[...] their own abilities and not [...] around lamenting the obstacles [...] their way."

Frau Diedrich put it even [...] strongly: "As long as employers [...] that many women do not have [...] approach to work as men, they [...] to give men the benefit of the [...] women cannot demand total equ[...]

It is the principle of equality [...] down in the Constitution which [...] Lufthansa to offer pilots' [...] courses for women (costs of [...] co-pilot are approximately a qua[...] million marks).

Lufthansa spokeswoman Sigr[...] teler does not expect problems [...] and a half years. They with [...] until after the training course, [...] cise eight months later, when [...] woman pilot claims pregnancy [...]

The law says that a pilot's [...] must be automatically withdrawn [...] 32 weeks if the pilot has not [...] flying practice in this period.

Frau Votteler says: "Women will probably have to insure the[...] against pregnancy."

The trouble is that insurers [...] pregnancy as "dependent on the [...] the insuree." David Larner, Lloyd's [...] officer, says: "Pregnancy is a cont[...] risk. And of course it can[...] insured."

Armin[...]

(Die Welt, 19 Febru[ary 1981])

Unemployment leaves 26-year-old woman down and out

Jutta Gerhard, an interior decorator from Cologne, has been jobless for a good five years now. She is one of the army of those who first became jobless in 1973.

She has since been through most of the phases in the life of a "problem case." All have been neatly put on file and recorded by the employment office.

Aged 26, she came to Cologne from Idar-Oberstein in 1973. She had just completed her examinations as an interior decorator and soon found a job in a department store. She was made redundant during her probationary period.

Then began a period in which she alternated between unemployment and temporary jobs.

In 1979, after she had been out of work for seven months, an employment office employee advised her to take a retraining course.

"That was my sheet anchor," says Jutta, looking back. "The months before that had badly affected me psychologically."

Psychological problems have been found among the unemployed, and mainly among men, but there have been few serious studies of the subject.

Sociologists say that women "have enough variety and distraction" because of their dual function as earners and as housewives.

This may be true of those who regard their work merely as a source of extra income. But it certainly does not apply to jobless women such as Jutta Gerhard, whom the computer classifies as a "self-supporting woman."

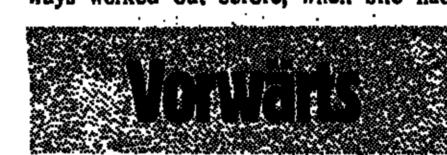
In his book *From Shock to Fatalism* psychologist Ali Wacker writes that unemployment is generally followed by a psychological development which begins with a shock.

This is followed by an optimistic phase. The unemployed individual does a number of things to try to improve his situation. And when he does not succeed he sinks into "pessimism and fatalism."

Jutta Gerhard cannot completely go along with this analysis. She says she felt really good at the beginning of her period of inactivity.

She found she had time to do things she had long neglected. There were plenty of things to distract her, and she was also hoping to find a new job fairly soon.

She was used to this. Things had always worked out before, when she had



done temporary jobs in canteens, kitchens and offices doing clerical work.

But by then there had been changes on the labour market. For one thing there was cut-throat competition in the supply and demand circle, which led to a change in the qualifications required.

The pupil with university entrance qualifications found himself competing with technical school graduates for apprenticeships, and the secondary modern school leaver was pushed into the category of the "unskilled and semi-skilled."

Jutta Gerhard was also considered "difficult to place" because she had changed jobs comparatively frequently. Nobody asked her why she had done so.

After two months in which she did not get a single job offer, the[...] had to remain available for em[...] "the big hangover" started: [...] sleeplessness and "incredible emp[...]

She did not know to spend he[...] and wandered aimlessly around [...] first she visited some of her frie[...] kept finding that she turned up [...] inconvenient times.

She then began slowly to w[...] Often she spent all day in bed [...] ing very dark thoughts."

"Sometimes I just used to fe[...] aggressive towards everything [...] me, other times I thought I ha[...] everything wrong.

"Sometimes I thought I had co[...] ed too much, sometimes that I h[...] conformed enough."

Her body reacted to all this wi[...] of appetite, tiredness, constant [...] aches.

Then came financial problems [...] got DM700 a month dole. He[...] alone came to DM257. She had n[...] a job offer from the employment [...] for months.

The problem that had at first s[...] so easy to solve now threatened to [...] her downfall. At 25, Jutta Gerha[...] she was on the scrapheap.

The "Gerhard case" then ent[...] new phase. She took a retraining [...] as a draughtswoman. She spent e[...] months on the course.

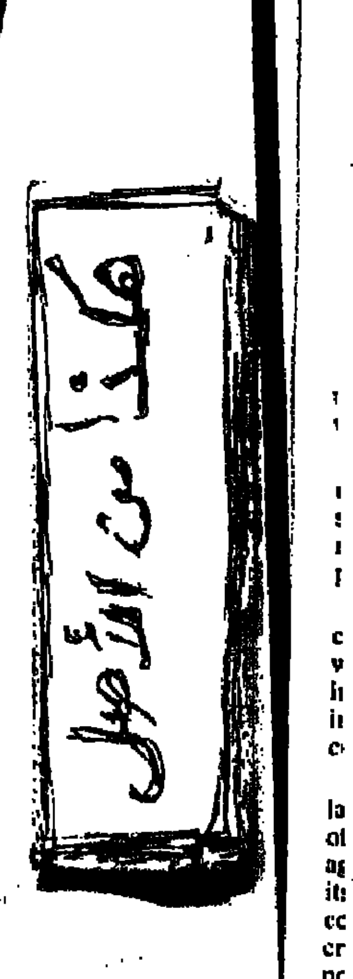
Then came an examination, w[...] of the 20 candidates failed. Ju[...] one of the failures. Formally, she [...] longer unemployed because she h[...] been in regular employment.

Now, at 26, she is a case for the [...] security office.

Since the beginning of the [...] about two million jobs have disa[...] from the economy. For the perio[...] then the number of those wh[...] been out of work once or more [...] mated at six million.

This means that the unemplo[...]

Continued on page 15



SPORT

Ice hockey player's court fine

Hannoversche Allgemeine

[...] hockey players and officials are up [...] ms at the DM4,000 fine imposed [...] court in Landshut, Bavaria, on [...] Meeke, a Canadian who plays for [...] heim, for a foul on Landshut's [...] Schloder.

[...]ial reactions range from disap[...]ment to disgust. Heinz Henschel of [...], sports secretary of the Ice Hock[...] Association, reckons the negative [...]cussions may well extend to sport [...] whole.

"[I] am shattered," he says. "What is to [...]e of a sport once everyone who [...] his shins kicked starts taking the of[...]er to court?"

[...]ief coach Hans Rampf likewise [...] the court's ruling may prove detri[...]al to the game: "Where will we get [...]en everyone goes to court?"

[At] this rate, he reckons, it will not be [...] before ice hockey is overwhelmed [...] court injunctions and civil court [...]eedings.

[...] admits that allegations of brutality [...] be warranted at times but is con[...]d *that offences* can be stamped out [...] game itself, given the powers [...] in referees and disciplinary com[...]

[...] hockey could certainly be far from [...] in suffering from the repercus[...] of the court ruling in the Schloder [...] although ice hockey is a particularly tough code in which injuries are more or less inevitable even when the game is played in strict accordance with the rules.

The foul in question fractured the cheek bone of Alois Schloder, captain of Landshut and the national team, on 12 October 1979.

Brent Meeke was ruled to have deliberately fouled him. But the blow in question was but one of many that are given and taken in the rink.

The current ice hockey season, for instance, began quietly but the second Sunday of league fixtures was already dubbed Bloody Sunday.

This season's more serious injuries have included a fractured cheek bone, nose and temple for Mannheim international Harold Kreis, who underwent an emergency operation.

So, as coincidence would have it, did unlucky Alois Schloder after a complex shoulder fracture and torn ligaments.

Lochead of Kaufbeuren, a Canadian, had a broken jawbone while under contract to Cologne. Berlin's Franz-Xaver Müller is out of the game with a pulled muscle and fracture.

Erich Kühnhackl broke his left ring finger, which can hardly have upset him much, while Alexei Mishin, a Soviet star under contract to SV Hamburg, says:

"There are situations in which my opponents have no choice but to go for the man rather than the puck; I can hardly blame them."

Mannheim's manager Helmut Müller immediately lodged an appeal against the fine, which the Landshut court imposed largely on the strength of TV footage of Schloder's injury.

At the end of 1979 the same TV scenes were used as evidence by the game's own disciplinary committee, which chose not to penalise Meeke.

"There was no deliberation intention to foul Schloder as we saw it," says the disciplinary committee's Bode Zeiske. "But a court of law naturally goes by entirely different criteria."

dpa

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 20 February 1981)

Continued from page 14

[...]onger a minority who deserve pity. [...]mployment is a problem that has af[...] nearly every German family in [the] last eight years.

[An]d the predictions indicate that it is [...] to hit even more families in the [...]

[Fin]ancial necessity is not, as in the [...] an immediate existential problem, [...] in a performance-oriented society [...] a person's worth is judged by his [...] the unemployed individual is no [...] regarded as a 100-per-cent mem[ber of] society.

[Th]e out-of-work individual is soon [...] to feel this — among his friends [...] his family. He is no longer asked [...] his opinion, and his trade union [...]fies him among "the unemployed, [...]ioners and the sick."

[Th]is may seem to be a mere administ[rative] measure, but those affected do [...] things this way.

[A] 34-year-old technical employee told [...] that his "self-contempt affected [...] the most intimate areas of his pri[vate] life." He said he had not been able [...] with his wife for months.

[An]other job-hunter said: "When I go [...] interviews employers sense that I'm a [...] I radiate so much pessimism that [...] wouldn't touch me with a barge[...]

Corinna Guboldt

(Vorwärts, 12 February 1981)

Gymnastics teenagers call it a day

Anette Toifl, 18, and Sonja Schlegelmilch, 19, champion gymnasts from Söllingen, near Karlsruhe, have retired. They wrote to Ursula Hinz in Berlin, the official responsible for the national squad, and told her of their decision.

From now on they will only go in for gymnastics for their own pleasure and for the club. After a three-week break they both feel they need the exercise.

They also feel grateful to their club, where coach Rudolf Seiter and his wife Hannelore were for years a second home for them, providing compensation for the many pleasures they had to forgo.

For 10 long years Anette commuted between Pforzheim and Söllingen, which are about 40 miles apart. She spent 15 hours a week training there, not counting the many extra training courses and, of course, the events she competed in.

In 1979 she won the national individual championship title on the horizontal bar and a further team title. Over the years she has been in every team squad the Gymnastics Association runs. Last year she landed in the special squad.

Anette is no fool and well knew what was special about the squad. It's the one you go into before they put you out to graze, the 18-year-old teenager says.

In the New Year she was promoted to the world championship squad but she knows the rules of the game and realised it was the beginning of the end.

She no longer had a slender, undeveloped figure and was no longer prepared to run constant risks. Her days at the top were numbered.

It stands to reason that Anette and Sonja were not always keen to go to training. Herr Seiter repeatedly applied pressure in varying degrees when they failed to show the necessary dedication and ambition.

That happened frequently. Young girls are bound to have more on their minds than just gymnastics. Yet they have been happy with the club. It has always been more fun than hard work.

But that is not the way to win international honours, as the two girls saw for themselves just before the Moscow Olympics when the Rumanian girls competed in their club gymnasium.

The Rumanians, drilled like machines, were an eye-opener. Anette and Sonja say they have never given the tremendous difference in performance between them and the international elite a second thought.

That, they say, is a problem for the coaches and for the officials, but not for them.

Poor performance at school, where Anette is determined to pass university entrance exams next year, is one reason why she has decided to call it a day.

Another is Vladimir Prorok, the new chief coach, a Czech who plans to increase the weekly training schedule to 30 hours for top-flight girls.

It just won't work in this country, she says, and when she sees the exercises young girls are called on to carry out nowadays she realises she could never have decided any other way:

"They're twice as hard as the ones we used to have to do."

Anette Toifl and Sonja Schlegelmilch have no intention of encouraging this state of affairs further. They do not intend to become either games mistresses or gymnastics coaches.

All they plan to do is to hop around a little in the gym, with no compulsion to do anything. They will not be worried in the least if their coach addresses them as old-age pensioners rather than ladies — in the unsubtle tones of a sergeant-major.

Josef-Otto Freudenreich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 February 1981)

Soccer star sidelined for life

Heinz Flohe, 33, has been sidelined by injury from soccer, his career, for 14 months. He was fouled in a Bundesliga fixture by Paul Steiner of Duisburg and broke his leg.

He still has difficulty in distracting attention from his disability. He has just undergone surgery on that treacherous left leg yet again.

He has no hard feelings but his high-flown hopes of yesteryear have been scaled down to a modest: "I reckon I should be walking normally again by summer."

Until his last operation he couldn't feel anything in the crocked foot, says the former soccer star and veteran of 39 caps for his country.

A trapped nerve was freed in his last operation; it had been giving him trouble since 1 December 1979, the day his left leg collided with the tip of Steiner's boot at top speed.

His yell was heard from one end of the ground to the other. His foot looked as if it were bent double as he pleaded with the first aid men who stretchered him off: Help me, please, I can't stand the pain!"

Professor Viersteiner, the Munich specialist, performed the first operation, using a pin and a silver plate. "The bones were smashed," Flohe says. "That was why it was so complicated."

He could readily be excused for joining the ranks of those who lament that soccer has grown too tough, with too much violence occurring on the field of play.

It would make sense if he were to pillory the excesses of association football, but those who expect him to do so wait in vain.

Flohe used to be rated a hothead and a player who gave as good as he got. These days he has grown quieter and more thoughtful.

The pain and the uncertainty about his future career doubtless wrought the change. But he does not allege that Steiner fouled him with malice aforethought.

"A few minutes beforehand the referee had disallowed a foul on his team," he explains. "Steiner was hopping mad. I can well appreciate how he must have felt."

In soccer you risk not life, maybe, but certainly limb, and that game for game. Flohe reckons that is just part of the job. Escaping unscathed is just good luck. But it will not have been just the pain that changed him. He was preoccupied with the feeling that the club in which he had felt at home for most of his career had dropped him.

He had always hoped to end his career with a final game for Cologne, but this hope was dashed, he says, by manager Hennes Weisweiler.

"He dropped me like a hot potato," Flohe said at the time. He had submitted to jabs in the arm, the thigh and the behind to continue playing for the club, jabs that had ruined him.

Then Weisweiler had needed a scapegoat for the poor performance of the reigning champions and Flohe was chosen as the fall guy. "He (Weisweiler) has finished me off with his impatience," he said after 13 years with Cologne.

Yet Flohe it had been who in 1978 scored the two goals against Hamburg St Pauli to clinch the league championship in the last game of the season.

"It was the craziest day in my life," he says, recalling one of the few highlights of a fine career. Now, at 33, he is younger than either Franz Beckenbauer or Siggi Held but his soccer days are over. How does he see his future?

He tried his luck, but unsuccessfully as a boxing promoter. His insurance paid him roughly DM500,000. He has a stake in a tennis centre.

But there is also his court case against Paul Steiner. Proceedings were started by Munich public prosecutor Dieter Hummel after Steiner and his lawyer, Duisburg board chairman Paul Märzhäuser, refused to settle out of court.

The terms they were offered were an end to the proceedings in return for a fine of DM10,000.

Theo Schulte

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 February 1981)